

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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'No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage any set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 167.—JANUARY, 1887.

ART. I.—THE GROWTH OF RADICALISM IN INDIA AND ITS DANGER.

AMONGST the great and startling changes that have taken place in India since the advent of the British to this country, the growth of Radicalism is not the least extraordinary. Though yet in its infancy and confined as in all other countries in the first instance to only a small section of the community, it requires to be carefully watched both here and in England, by all those who have the welfare of this country at heart. Before I attempt to trace its origin, its aim, and its ultimate result in a country inhabited by people differing among themselves in religion, manners and customs, and conservative to the very backbone from time immemorial, I will classify the people and show which class imagines Radicalism to be the greatest boon that academical training can bestow. Accordingly I divide the people into five classes :—

1stly.—The Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

2ndly.—The Aristocracy. •

3rdly.—The Middle Classes. •

4thly.—The “teeming Millions,” and

5thly.—Those, so eloquently described by Lord Macaulay in one of his letters to his sister, as being determined to make themselves what they call gentlemen, and thus overrunning us by “lawyers without briefs, physicians without patients, authors without readers, clerks soliciting employment who might have thriven and been above the world as bakers, watch-makers, or inn-keepers.”

Now let us enter into the claims and aspirations of the five classes respectively.

The generality of the ruling princes whose opinions are entitled to any weight, want little more than a scrupulous regard for their oriental sentiments and prejudices on the part of the Ruling Power. They look upon no one with greater confidence, and no one has greater influence for good over them than those sagacious political officers of the paramount power to whom it does not appear, as mere waste of time, to study the sentiments of the East.

I must not, however, be understood to insinuate in any way against Government as to its selection of the political officers, for its choice of agents has generally been excellent. To a plain unimaginative man the importance attached by Princes and Nobles to the ceremonial observances of visits, precedence, and entertainments may appear meaningless, but history does not tell us that there ever was a time when sentiment had no scope for play. What can be more laudable in a man than a noble desire of being honored, and what honor can be greater than one conferred by a civilized and humane Government. When the vulgar acclamations of the uncouth and the illiterate are thought worth the trouble of seeking, I see no reason why a man should not strive hard to deserve the approval of a Government composed of the picked men of one of the most advanced nations in the world. Great as are the blessings we all enjoy under the benign rule of Britain, there is hardly a class in the country which has so much benefited under its elevating influence as the ruling princes of the most ancient lineages in India. Great as has been the improvement in their condition, there still remains much to be done. Far be it from me to advocate the policy of non-interference when a chief discredits his birth and position. Tyrants regardless of their sacred duties and sunk in low debauchery must, like plagues, be swept away, for "power was given to man to bless and not to harass mankind." All that I maintain is that progress in the native States must be gradual, and that they ought not to be judged by the standard of European civilization all at once. A sympathising political officer with a little forethought can do an immense deal of good in a native State, as the class of princes, impervious to reason, is fast disappearing, giving place to another type of rulers more qualified to discharge their duties as feudatories of the Empress of India. Education alone has wrought this marvellous change, and education alone will save them from falling back.

The aristocracy in this, as in every other country, belongs to that section of the community which is so much abused by a certain class of people in all countries ; though fortunately in India it is only a few Europeans of a certain school and a few

of their native disciples that consider it as composed of interlopers and trespassers, if not of cut-throats and robbers. Thus they hastily generalize from isolated instances. It never strikes those pseudo-philanthropists, however, that if every member of the aristocracy is an interloper and trespasser, then every radical is a breaker of the public peace, every diplomatist a deceiver, every physician an ill-wisher to mankind, every shopkeeper a cheat, and so on. Let that pass. My object is not to give offence. Abused as this class has been, it has the greatest influence in India. The nobles are still the hereditary leaders of the people, who always look up to them for advice and support in times of difficulty. It is a mistake to suppose that in days of storm and danger, Government can safely rely only on the unthinking masses. Nothing can be done in India without a leader of position. In the troublous days of 1857, the Indian Government learnt from bitter experience that the very people who had been cherished at the cost of the Taluqdars of Oudh not only deserted it, in its hour of need, but gathered round the banners of their old masters. In support of my assertion, I take the liberty to quote an extract from Lord Canning's Minute of 17th June 1856, para. 27 :—"It might have been expected that, when insurrection first arose in Oudh, and before it had grown to a formidable head, the village occupants, who had been so highly favoured by the British Government, and in justice to whom it had initiated a policy distasteful to the most powerful class in the province, would have come forward in support of the Government, who had endeavoured to restore them to their hereditary rights, and with whose interests their interests were identical. Such, however, was not the case. So far as I am yet informed, not an individual dared to be loyal to the Government which had befriended him. The village occupants as a body relapsed into their former subjection to the Taluqdar, owned and obeyed his authority as if he had been their lawful Suzerain and joined the ranks of those who rose up in arms against the British Government."

It would be vain to search for more loyal subjects of the Crown than, in the language of the impartial compiler of the Oudh-Gazetteer, amongst a "class which furnishes all the best examples of the national character;" and again "it is impossible to think badly of a race who, from among the dozen chiefs of a single district, could produce in one season of national convulsion two such eminent instances of loyalty and devotion to the opposite sides as the present Maharajah of Bulgam-pur and the late Rajah Debi Bakhsh Singh of Gonda—the one who risked his property and his life to save a handful of English friends, and remained their firm protector when it

seemed certain that their cause was lost,—the other, who did not join the standard of national revolt till he had escorted the treasure and the officials of a Government he hated to a place of safety, who was the last in the field when fighting was possible, and who, though offered an honourable reception and the whole of his immense estates by his conquerors, elected to sacrifice position and wealth, and die a starving exile in Naipal rather than desert his defeated mistress. Their fortunes were different, but their chivalrous honor the same."

It would no doubt be a political blunder, if not a source of political danger, to have recourse to the levelling policy of those who labor under the impression that there should be no intermediate class between the king and his people. Even the grasping and fanatical tyrants of India, who disgraced the names of Emperors and Kings, did not think it wise to wield their sceptre regardless of the claims of the Indian Aristocracy. What hold can a ruler have over the vulgar minds of those who have nothing to lose? What weight can be given to "street politics" devoid of mature consideration? The importance attached to the ceremonial observances of visits, precedence and entertainments may seem, to a philosophic mind, as a sign of weakness in the Indian nobles, but it is far easier to deal with men who can be influenced by trivial marks of honor than with a calculating *Bania* whom nothing but the slight of glittering gold makes cheerful.

The Indian nobility is quite contented under the British rule, and yields to none in point of loyalty. The noble is so situated, that his selfish motives do not stand as obstacles in the way of judging the shortcomings of Government. He understands the difficulties which lie in the path of a Government ruling over a foreign country. In spite of these difficulties he knows too well that India cannot expect a better Government than the present. He firmly believes that as long as England retains King or Queen as head of her own Government, there is no fear for his existence. The assumption by the Queen of England of the title of Empress of India is an additional guarantee for him, and the establishment of a Herald's College in India would add greatly to the peace of his mind. If founded, it could devise with advantage to native society, some decent Darbar robes or direct the Nobles to appear before the representatives of their Sovereign in their ancient and picturesque costumes, and by their example put a stop to the practice of native radicals attending the levees and darbars in their smoking caps and cricket jackets.

Something more than justice, order, and good faith is wanted for our well-being, and that something is the good-will of the

ruling power. Plutarch justly says that "goodness moves in a higher sphere than justice," and it is goodness on the part of the ruling power which can raise our condition.

The 3rd or middle class is composed of small landholders, successful professional men, tradesmen, Government and private servants and others. They, having a great deal to do for themselves, hardly get time to meddle with affairs which do not concern them immediately. There are solitary instances, however, where ambition makes them irrepressible patriots, and they soon pay the penalty. They neglect their legitimate work, and are soon brought to their senses by the loss they suffer in their worldly concerns. As a rule, they have no cause for discontent and are not disloyal. If sometimes they think they have a grievance (and who has not?) they often obtain redress. When, however, the purely literary education now in vogue in our Universities, or some error in judgment, such as a false start in life, makes any of them, or his son or relation, a total failure, he grows discontented and lays the blame on the Government. Fortunately such instances are not generally met with, and they will be dealt with further on in their proper place.

The fourth class or "the teeming millions" consist mainly of agriculturists who need nothing so much as complete rest, to recover from years of misrule and anarchy in days gone by. They seldom allow the train of their thoughts to run beyond the limits of their domestic hearth. They are much more prosperous under the present régime than they were ever before, and no one who has carefully observed their frequent visits to the shops of the village braziers and silversmiths and goldsmiths, can for a moment deny that their prosperity is real and not visionary. If we contrast their present condition with that of days gone by, when they had nothing but earthen pots in their huts and zinc and pewter ornaments on the persons of their wives and daughters, no impartial observer will consider my assertion to be unfounded. Agriculturists have not yet been able to break through the custom of ages of dressing in coarse garments and residing in wretched huts. The richer they are the poorer they like to appear, and no wonder they do so, when we remember what they had to suffer in olden times. Again, the village people set a greater value on substance in the shape of hard cash, agricultural implements, and cattle than on an embroidered coat or a fine residence. It is no secret that whatever they save they take particular care to consign to the guardianship of mother earth, and nothing but the greatest necessity can induce them to unearth it again. The so-called poverty of the agriculturists is not therefore the result of the oppressions of the tyrannical landlord whose best interests lie in the prosperity of his tenants. No one possessed

of any degree of common sense can deny that there are bad landlords in the country, but they do not form the majority. For one bad landlord we have nine good ones, who have by their exertions and influence converted arid tracts into smiling fields. I should be wanting in my duty were I not to take this opportunity of adding a few words on the troubles and exactions which the plodding cultivators are subjected to through the unceremonious visits of the police and the periodical visits of the Tahsil harpies, placed in charge of the collection of "russuds" for officers on tour. I am fully aware that the officers themselves are not to blame; my complaints apply to the system itself, and it behoves the rulers of the land to remove the stigma. I will revert to this subject more fully hereafter. However trivial these complaints may appear at first sight, they are grave ones, and are closely connected with the sufferings and privations of the cultivators of the soil.

"Let the rich deride and the proud disdain,
These little things are great to little men."

The fifth class comprises our would-be patriots. They are, as a matter of course, recruited from the middle, but chiefly from the lower classes. Failing in life, and having nothing of importance to engage their attention, they turn out, as I have already called them, irrepressible patriots. They want so many things that it would be difficult to say what they do not want. They not only imagine that they can govern India better than the British, but they also appear to know the secrets of the English Cabinet, though there are probably not a dozen Englishmen who can justly lay claim to any such knowledge.

To begin with a few of their wants, they wish to monopolize all the civil posts under Government with the exception of those of Viceroy, Governor and a few others, to have the members of the Legislative Council appointed by election, to have no British soldiers in the Indian army, to have it reduced to one-fourth of its present strength, to have the whole male population of India armed, to obtain tickets of invitation whenever any European whom they happen to know gives a dinner or ball, and last, though not least, to read the funeral service over the native aristocracy, and over every man who is rich and happens to possess land. Their demands are so childish as to need no comment. How can the appointment of members to the Legislative Councils, even by election, satisfy them unless there be a majority of non-official native members? Now with such a majority as they evidently aim at, what would have been the fate of the Income Tax Act, or other similar measures based entirely on administrative grounds? I am no admirer of this obnoxious Tax Act, but the difficulties which at times beset the Government and compel it to

unpopular measures cannot be known to an outsider. At times the interests of the rulers clash with those of the ruled, and the latter cannot always be pleased without causing inconvenience to the former. If justice requires that some consideration should be shown to our claims, policy demands that the wishes of the countrymen of the rulers should also be consulted.

A few words on the high posts. Suppose amongst the noisy agitators men were found competent for the high and responsible posts under Government, and these posts were conferred on them, what guarantee could there be that they would rest contented before they were made Governors and Commanders-in-Chief? I should be a traitor to my country and false to myself were I to say that I should derive no pleasure from seeing my countrymen of education, birth and position enjoying the confidence of Government and placed in positions of trust, but it is not my wish, or that of the agitators alone, that can realize these distant hopes. The question at issue is whether those who have played the lion's part and still keep the Russian bear at bay can be reasonably expected to forego the lion's share in the Government of the country. Men desirous of working impossibilities are sure to meet with a rebuff. When we lose sight of the unreasonableness of our demands we get discontented, and our discontent does more harm to us when we are under a strong and civilized Government than to the Government itself. To speak more plainly: when a Government finds its subjects ungrateful, bent upon mischief and treading on delicate ground, it cannot remain long without taking steps in self-defence. The British Government, not satisfied with conferring on us new rights and privileges and giving us education, has also taught us how to stand up for those rights and privileges. Then let us not take undue advantage of its kindness and toleration. Situated as we are, we can never do without the British Government, neither can we overawe it by mass-meetings and long speeches. If Aurengzeb could rule us by the power of the sword, what prevents the English from doing the same? It was an English General, bred in India, who chastised the vanity of the greatest potentate of the 18th century. Their magnanimity spurns the idea of governing by the sword and makes them treat us with consideration. As they wisely avoid making us feel our inferiority, it would be a breach of decency on our part to compel them to say or do what they wish to avoid. The weak can never expect any concession from the strong beyond what the latter gives of his own good-will. Then, why not try by all means to encourage feelings of cordiality, the growth of which is spontaneous if not checked by our feelings of jealousy of the conscious superiority of the governing race felt, and

sometimes manifested, when they come into contact with us. We forget that they come from a country where slavery has long been abolished. They are a free nation and must naturally feel proud of their position. Their liberty is of a different order, and has been the growth of ages, and we cannot aspire to it all at once. I admit that we should not deserve the name of men if we did not prize the value of liberty, but liberty deprived of its necessary accompaniments is a mere shadow without substance. If the mere name of liberty and equality has any charm for any of my countrymen, let him seek his habitation amongst the Kols and Bheels of Central India, and there he will find ample field for the play of his sentiments. To claim equality with the conquerors, is physically absurd. Political and social equality can never exist between them and us, unless we are equal in all other respects. Either they must fall to our level or we must rise to theirs. The former is not likely to happen, nor is it desirable that it should, and the latter must be the work of many years.

In thus criticising, as I have done, the shallow views and aspirations of Indian grievancemongers, I do not throw the blame on them so much as on the system of education.

A system of education without the religious, practical, moral and physical elements cannot fail to take shape in a train of false ideas of independence and liberty, the fountain source from which Indian radicalism forces an outlet.

"The downward filtration theory" in the sense of "the education of the higher classes as a necessary preliminary to any influence upon the lower" also deserves a fair trial, even at the cost of the impolitic attempts to convert the sons of Khitmutgars into diploma-holders. We are now reaping the fruit of the anti-downward filtration theory in the hordes of discontented demagogues that overrun the country. Now it behoves our rulers to devote themselves to the enlightenment of the sons of the aristocracy as well, who are never likely to forget the duties of peaceful citizens. It is a matter of great regret that so little has been done towards their education as the following extract from the Report by the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee of the Education Commission, page 130, Chapter V, will show :—

"The absence of an educated aristocracy and the widespread sterility of educational effort caused by this void, are the theme of all the evidence. The bare fact is most explicitly stated by Pandit Lachmi Shankar, Professor of Physical Science in the Benares College." For the management of such institutions he says, of Aided Schools and Colleges, "we want an educated aristocracy, which does not exist in these Provinces." Of the Kshatrias or Rajputs, the caste of Rajahs, the Rajah of Bhinga himself writes: "whilst education is extending its influence to almost every household in India, it is sad to record that this important class of the

population is stationary, and the same as it was a century ago. However, uncultivated as it is, it has an immense influence for good and evil in the land."

I may here quote, as closely connected with this question, certain remarks made by Sir Alfred Lyall, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces at the recent Prize Distribution of the Canning College on the 31st August 1886 :—

"They admitted in fact that times were changed, and that the best safeguards for the preservation and perpetuation of their Estates and the maintenance of the dignity and influence of their order must henceforward be found in educating the rising generation up to the level of the new era that was coming in Oudh. In short, one special object with which the Taluqdars and the State founded the Canning College, was to secure the education of the children and relatives of the Taluqdars.

"Well, gentlemen, although the College has rendered great and liberal service to the Province at large, in this special object or mission I am not sure that it has hitherto succeeded so well. It is true that in the new generation of Taluqdars that has grown up under English rule, we have some eminent examples of gentlemen of high culture and independent thought, who have been educated at this College. But what we want, and what I think we are entitled to expect, is a higher general level of education among the landed gentry of the Province. I think we had a right to hope that the number of students at the College from the land-owning families would have been greater, and that a deeper impression, so to speak, would have by this time been made by the College upon the class to which it owes its establishment, and who are so nearly concerned in its administration;" and again "I would therefore impress upon all the Taluqdars, and upon all the principal gentlemen in Lucknow and the vicinity, the real urgency and importance of availing themselves freely of the advantages offered by the Canning College for giving their sons and future Successors, and all who belong to their houses, an education suitable, in these days of civilization and progress, to their future position and responsibilities."

This is all very well, but with due deference to His Honor I must observe that he fails to point out the reason and the remedy for this state of things. I put it to Sir Alfred Lyall or to any other English gentleman whether he would be willing to see his own son sitting at school between the sons of his menial servants. No gentleman in any country in the world would accept this position for his children. Though the Taluqdars are exclusive, this is not a weakness confined to them. In connection with the above, I here extract from the above Education Report, page 75 :—

"A well-born Rajput or Mahomedan abhors the notion of his sons associating with the sons of men far below him in social rank, the class to which the vast majority of Students in Government Schools and Colleges belong." And in page 131 "Rank in India does not, as in England, depend almost solely on money. The petty Zemindar, whose ancestors have owned the land he occupies for ages, is at least as important a personage as the banker or contractor who has amassed a fortune under the present Government." * * * *

"This being the case, it becomes very important to recognise the fact, which in itself is sufficiently manifest, that there are class-prejudices among the people, and that the same kind of school cannot suit all grades of Society.

India is not different in this respect from other countries, and surely there are no people more reserved, exclusive, and tenacious of their social rank than the English. Yet the Education Department has persistently ignored all the social distinctions of this country. Special arrangements have, it is true, been made for the separate education of European and Eurasian children in schools to which natives are not admitted. It is perhaps to be regretted that this is the only instance in which caste prejudices have been consulted. The Brahmin or Rajput boy must go to the same school as the son of his father's cowherd or ploughman, of the family grocer, blacksmith and cobbler."

Another drawback in these schools is, that until a young man reaches the higher classes, the teaching power that would be brought to bear upon him is lamentably low. Even the opening of a special class with ill-paid and ill-chosen teachers and without proper boarding-houses and competent supervision cannot but be a failure.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Taluqdar prefers keeping his son at home to sending him to a class made up of very mixed materials and taught by an ill-paid and incompetent teacher. With this reservation I am strongly in favour of the school system, but it must be under proper conditions.

Education for the children of the upper classes at the cost of Government, is by no means desirable. Those classes can well afford to contribute towards their own enlightenment. What I urge is, that unless the Government takes the initiative in any matter in this country, nothing will be well done by the people themselves.

It is even now not too late to train and fit the higher classes to represent the real wants of the country, which can never come to the notice of the paramount power through the instrumentality of the professional agitators. It is a law of nature that the many must be guided by the superior talents of the few, and if the few, in the first instance, have generally been forthcoming from among the upper classes in all other lands, how can we reasonably look for them elsewhere in a country not only rigidly conservative, but whose people have just commenced to lisp the political alphabets of the West. It is high time that the Indian administrators should turn their attention to the intellectual development of the sons of the Rajahs and Chiefs, and give up the notion that the more they are educated, the more obstacles they will throw in the way of Government. Let the Indian officials combine with the aristocracy of the land and beware of our indigenous Parnellites, who in return for any countenance that may be shewn them, will repay the former only by additional troubles in administration, and the latter by portioning out their land and other property to the masses on the system of "three acres and a cow."

RAJAH ODAY PERTAP SINGH,
Taloogdar of Bhinga, Oudh.

ART. II.—A GARO'S REVENGE.

IN the year 187—the village of R—was the scene of a crime that struck terror into the hearts of every Garo, far or near; never in the memory of the oldest man had such a frightful tragedy occurred. Like all savages, the Garos are vindictive and treacherous when thoroughly roused, but they are not easily worked up to a pitch of resentment such as leads to violence or murder. Good-tempered but quick, they are, as a rule, a peaceable and easily managed race.

In the village of R—lived two men whose cultivations adjoined, Reshin's lay nearest the village, and extended over the slope of a hill that rose to the right. Thick jungle fenced it in on the north and west, at the south lay the village, nestling quietly in the valley. On the east, the cultivation of Tingrin stretched in irregular lines round the hill. Tingrin—a tall powerful man, of a sour and gloomy cast of countenance, but who was known as a quiet and decent member of the community—began to clear the ground for his cultivation the year before Reshin.

He and his wife toiled late and, early: felling the trees, cutting the broad belt of jungle round the field that was to form a magic ring beyond which fire could not pass; firing all within that ring, and finally clearing the ground and sowing their cotton and rice seeds.

The nearest way to their cultivation lay across a corner of Reshin's land, and he raised no objection to their making use of this short cut, until the second year. But when he in his turn cleared the jungle and sowed his crops, he objected to Tingrin's passing across the corner, as he had fenced it round. He therefore told him that he could only go through his field by the beaten tract, and that in future he did not wish him to cut across the corner.

Having warned him, he dug up the little pathway and planted it out like the rest of his field. The next morning, on going to his work, he saw that the newly turned earth was beaten down by the footprints of Tingrin and his wife, who were quietly working in their own field.

Going to the fence he called to Tingrin, asking him why he had gone that way. Annoyed at the man's unconcerned answer of "because it is the nearest," he told him angrily to be careful how he trespassed again.

Tingrin smiled sourly, and when the evening began to close in, he shouldered his few rough tools, and deliberately crossed the forbidden corner, telling his wife to follow him.

The next morning Reshin found the double set of foot marks and knew that Tingrin had again passed that way. Boiling with rage, he again went to the fence, and abusing the aggressor in choice Garo, declared that he would make the village hot for him, if he continued to trespass on his land.

Tingrin took no notice whatever of the threat, and morning and evening calmly walked across the forbidden corner, without appearing to notice Reshin's feeble efforts to prevent him. Thorns were worked into the fence only to be removed, the fence was raised, only to be lowered.

There was something frightfully aggravating in the man's imperturbable calmness and persistence, and Reshin's friends could with difficulty keep him from attacking his enemy. He was a small and not particularly strong man, and Tingrin was unusually powerful even for a hillman.

Perhaps he calculated on this, and took advantage of it, but Reshin did not lack courage and would have openly attacked him, but that the wiser counsel of his friend prevailed, and he was induced to leave the matter in the hands of the village Punchyet.

They did not hesitate to decide the case in his favor, and Tingrin was warned that if he offended again, he would have to answer for it to the Punchyet.

The wrath of an habitually quiet man is always fiercer and more to be dreaded than that of one whose anger evaporates daily. Tingrin went to his house to meditate on his revenge. To kill the man who had got the better of him, would not satisfy him; the whole village should suffer for siding against him, and giving Reshin the victory.

That evening he did not visit his cultivations. His wife crept quietly round by the outside of the fence, and brought home the few beans, &c., that she required for their evening meal. Tingrin said nothing and ate nothing.

In the morning all the other men went to their work in the distant cultivations, but Tingrin sat in his house. His wife timidly placed his food before him and a langour full of Garo liquor. He eat in silence, and drained the liquor to the last drop.

"Where did you get those beans?" he asked suddenly.

"In our field," she answered, trembling at his strange tone and manner.

"Did you go by my path, or by Reshin's," he asked fixing his eyes on her.

She hesitated. "What's the good of bothering any more about it," she ventured to say at last. "We had better do what the Punchyet tells us, and think no more about it."

He did not answer, but going to the side of the rooms, unhung his sword, and sat down to clean and sharpen it.

Frightened by his manner, the woman left the house, and finding that most of the women had gone down to the stream that supplied the village, to fetch water to cook their husband's evening meal, she went after them to consult as to whether it would not be well to warn Reshin that her husband was sharpening his sword.

No thought of danger to herself troubled her. Her husband had never treated her unkindly, and she thought if he had been angry about her going by "Reshin's" path, he would have beaten her at once.

Poor woman! she little thought what fearful plans he was perfecting when he let her leave the house so quietly.

The sun was setting in a glory of crimson and gold that tipped the fleecy white clouds with a brilliant edge of color. The warm glow flooded the wide expanse of hill and valley with a rosy light, and rested on the thatched brown roofs of the houses. Thousands of insects kept the air alive with their tiny trumpets and never-resting wings, bright birds fluttered gaily about over the surface of the water, and now and again the loud crow of a jungle fowl sounded defiantly from the hill.

A picturesque and peaceful scene; children dabbling in the clear water and dipping their little brown bodies cautiously into it, for Garos are not particularly fond of water; a few huge pigs grunting along the bank, and a score or so of women and girls, some filling their large earthen water vessels, some bathing in the shallows, and a group of a dozen or more standing a little way off, listening to Tingrin's wife.

They none of them heard a stealthy step stealing down the narrow path, or saw the sun glint brightly on a newly polished sword and a pair of wild dark eyes. Had the man no moment of softness? no feeling of compassion as he paused for his fatal spring, his own child was there clinging to her mother's hand, and dancing up and down with glee as she watched her playmates.

There was no warning cry, no shrill shout of maddened revenge. Stealthily and quietly Tingrin approached the group, with a spring he leapt in amongst them, and wielding his sword with both his hands, struck his wretched victims down.

Scream after scream arose on the soft evening air, as right and left he hewed at them with his blood-stained weapon. One after another they fell beneath his cruel blows, mothers snatched their children up and fled terrified into the jungles, one or two tried to regain the village, but with a bound he followed them and struck them down. His wife crying aloud for mercy tried to seize his arm, but even as her fingers clung convulsively to him, he struck—not her—that would have been merciful—but

their child. She should drink a more bitter draught than death —she should live childless, and shunned as the wife of the man who had made his village desolate.

Finding no more victims to his hand, Tingrin returned to the village, and taking a burning log from one of the houses, threw it on the thatch. He watched until he saw the flames burst forth, and then flinging his sword high into the air, disappeared into the jungle.

Early the next morning the news of the frightful event was brought into the station. The Civil Surgeon and another officer rode out immediately to the village. They found it almost burnt to the ground. The men, and such of the women as had escaped from the terrible sword, were dazed and stupid. The magnitude of the crime overwhelmed them. They were afraid to move about, fearing that the murderer would rush out from his hiding-place upon them.

Those whose wives and children had been struck down sat by them, silent and helpless. Some of the victims were still alive, but such had been the consternation and horror, that every one seemed paralyzed, and no attempt had been made to remove them, or to attend to their wounds.

A ghastly array of living and dead! Seven women lay dead, and one child—the murderer's own. Six more were so frightfully cut about, that nothing but the skill and untiring care of the Civil Surgeon saved them. He had them carried into the Station Hospital, and carefully nursed and tended.

Meanwhile the whole country was demoralized, the murderer was still at large. For days he evaded detection, and the people lived in a state of terror; no one dared to walk about alone; the path to the stream was guarded, and every Garo kept his spear in his hand.

At last the Police Officer, with a few determined men, hunted him down. He had taken refuge in one of the curious little huts built on high poles, or partly in a tree, and partly on poles, where the Garos live during the season when they have to protect their fields from the depredations of wild elephants, deer, and pigs.

It was a service of considerable danger to mount the rough ladder; the man might easily have hurled his would-be capturer from the ladder, but, strange to say, he did not attempt it. Worn out by hunger and the hunted existence of the last few days, he gave himself up without a struggle, and was soon safely conveyed to the head-quarters lock-up.

His fate hovered in the balance for some time, for although he was, as a matter of course, convicted, he could not be condemned to death without the sanction of Government. No Garo had up to that time been hung for murder, as it had not

been considered safe to exact the extreme penalty of the law. But in Tingrin's case the Garos themselves were anxious for his death. Had he been transported for life, they would never have been satisfied, for they believed him to be possessed of a devil, and able to return from the uttermost parts of the earth to torment them.

They witnessed his execution—the first that had ever occurred in their hills—with unbounded satisfaction, and his widow only breathed freely when she knew that he was really dead.

This desperate criminal was buried in his chains. Various reasons were assigned for this curious circumstance, but the real one was simple enough. The blacksmith who had fastened them on when Tingrin was alive, refused to touch him when he was dead, on account of caste-prejudices, and there was no one else who could do it.

ESME.

ART. III.—BUDHĀ AS A PHILOSOPHER. PART I.

DID Buddha teach a philosophy? Some of his modern panegyrists have been led by a line of *a priori* reasoning to the conclusion, that he never did. Buddha was in their opinion the greatest teacher that ever lived, and he consummated the greatest moral revolution that ever was accomplished. Could such a man, with so great a work before him, waste his energy and fritter away his resources in fruitless researches, carried rashly into the region of enigmas and mysteries, dreams and hallucinations, ghosts and phantasms? Speculations of a flighty and fruitless stamp might be indulged in by men who had a dreamy intellect and nothing of importance to do; but a man with Buddha's practical turn of mind and earnest purpose, could not possibly nullify himself by deliberately getting entangled in the mazes of metaphysical subtleties and ontological riddles. But such reasonings, however cogent and conclusive they may appear to some minds, cannot materially influence persons, who do not admit the premises, and who cannot therefore be expected to accept the conclusion. We do not admit that Buddha was so far above the platform of thought and feeling occupied by the philosophers and reformers of his age, that the idea of his going astray in the direction indicated, is inadmissible.

But questions like this cannot be settled either way by mere *a priori* reasonings. To the law and to the testimony—that must be our motto. It is our duty, agreeable or disagreeable, to present Buddha just as he appears in the existing records, or the biographies and the hortatory and doctrinal treatises which have survived the wreck of time, and have the prestige of being universally held up as original sources. Nothing is more unsatisfactory than to evolve out of our inner consciousness a Buddha of stainless beauty, pure spirit and lofty thought, a Buddha whose appearance fascinates "dark-eyed" maidens, and whose grandeur of character and purpose generates enthusiastic devotion in the coldest of hearts. These records are doubtless overladen with extravagancies of the wildest stamp, and a little sifting work fitted to give consistency and shape to the underlying vein of historic truth is allowable; but no amount of exegetical or critical fairness can justify our going beyond them in quest of virtues they do not disclose, or truths and facts they positively contradict. The records bring the reformer forward not only as an ascetic

of lofty but mutilated character, not only as a moralist of sublime but one-sided sentiments, but as a philosopher of the *national* or dreamy type!

Besides mere *a priori* reasoning is fitted, if only the records are accepted, when the necessary work of pruning has been done, to show that Buddha could not but have taught a philosophy. Buddha flourished at a time when a man could not possibly have succeeded as a reformer of morals without being backed, as it were, by a scheme of philosophic thought. Philosophy was regarded, not merely as a thing fitted to invigorate the intellect and expand the heart, but a sort of panacea for all the evils of life. Philosophy held the lofty position of religion, and the welfare of society in general, not merely of individual thinkers, was looked upon and represented as dependent on the solution of some at least of its abstruse problems. The devotees, who renounced family life and forsook society, retired to sequestered spots more to ponder and set at rest the problems of life, than to acquire a store of supererogatory merit by the practice of austerity and penance. Buddha was not evidently above current traditions; and even if he had been, he would have found it necessary to secure general acceptance to his scheme of reform by allying it to, or rather amalgamating it with, a system of speculative thought.

Again, to rob Buddha's ethical system of its philosophical basis, is to leave it without a foundation. The beautiful morality of the New Testament is based on its sublime theology —on the grand doctrine of the Incarnation and the Atonement. Take away this doctrine, or the main features of the life of Christ, and Christian morality loses its unifying principle, its vitalizing power, its electrifying influence, and its inspiring example,—its most glorious associations and its strongest motives. In a similar manner the sombre morality of Buddhistic record is based on the subtle philosophy embedded in them,—on the doctrine, for instance, of impermanence, of existence as an *evil per se*, and release therefrom as the highest good. Take away this doctrinal basis and the main features of the life of Buddha, and the ethical scheme loses its principle of life, coherence, and practical efficacy, as well as its historical associations and standing model.

Buddha, therefore, stands before us as a philosopher, as well as a moral reformer. And it is because he was a philosopher, he was looked upon not only as a moralist, but as a religious reformer also, for in India, if not all the world over, philosophy was in his age religion, and religion, philosophy.

But Buddha should be brought forward, not only as philosopher, but the father of that species of philosophy, which has

been characterised as *heterodox* in India. Dr. Banerjea in his admirable "Dialogues," represents Buddha as the father of Hindu philosophy in general, both orthodox and heterodox. According to his ably expressed views, it was Buddha who drew the attention of Indian thinkers away from the creature comforts of life, of which they were passionately fond, towards the great problems of life and death; and the learned doctor unhesitatingly maintains that the characteristic ideas of Hindu philosophy, the ideas of *Mukti* or deliverance from the evils of existence, and *Maya* or cosmothetic illusion, were first conceived and introduced into Hindu literature by him.

Dr. Banerjea's reasons for broaching an opinion so unique, so obviously at variance with the received or approved one, may be briefly stated thus: It is an undeniable fact, that the Rishis of the Rig Veda period were absorbed in the avocations and pleasures of life so completely, that they could not but appear incapable of thoughts fitted to satisfy the higher longings of the spirit. The prayers they offered were almost all intended to bring down upon them showers of earthly blessings, and rarely rose above the platform of material enjoyments, such as may be secured by wealth and honor, increase of flocks and herds, agricultural prosperity and pastoral abundance, martial triumph and plenitude of plunder. The military exploits and other occupations into which their oldest records afford an insight, indisputably indicate on their part an intense longing for the tangible blessings of this life, and a deliberate neglect of, if not aversion to, the purest and hallowing influences of divine grace. The temper of mind, disclosed in the picture presented of their sayings and doings in the Rig Veda, is also obviously inconsistent with that spirit of inquisitive earnestness to which philosophical speculations and researches are to be traced; while scarcely a line occurs in this hoary record calculated to show that they ever cared to look beyond the narrow horizon of earthly enjoyments, or allow themselves to be bothered by the abstruse problems and the inscrutable mysteries of life.

Nor did the age of the *Brahmanas*, the period when the simple ceremonies of the Rig Veda gave place to a complicated and pompous ritual, see any restraints imposed on the secular ambition of the Rishis. On the contrary, their worldliness grew in strength and intensity in proportion as their circumstances improved, the dangers before them disappeared, and they were lured on by the tempting prizes of a career of prosperity. They became in time thoroughly secularized, and their desires and aspirations rarely, if ever, extended beyond the contracted sphere of the pleasures and occupations of this life.

' Amongst a people so thoroughly absorbed in secularity, how could, Dr. Banerjea asks, thoughts fitted to stir up the spirit of self-denial and self-renunciation arise? How could such a theory as *Maya*, with its representations calculated to throw over the realities of creation the veil of illusion and nothingness, arise in minds bent on looking upon this life as all-in-all? How, again, could the Hindu idea of *Mukti*, with its renunciation of family-life, abandonment of worldly pleasure, retirement to hermit solitude, practice of penance, and intensity of contemplation, be conceived by persons who longed for nothing higher than domestic felicity accompanied with plenitude of wealth, honor, ease and comfort?

This line of reasoning would be perfectly irrefragable and conclusive, if it could be proved that Buddha was the first man in India who made himself an example of philosophic loftiness of thought and sentiment. But it is impossible to explain how a man of Dr. Banerjea's penetrating intellect failed to notice the series of facts which are brought into bold relief in the existing records, and which militate most obviously and thoroughly against such an assumption. It is a matter of fact that Buddha himself referred to a long roll of prophets who had taught his distinctive doctrine before his day, and represented himself as only a link in a chain which knows neither beginning nor end. This may be an after-thought foisted in the original records, but the early prevalence of such an idea precludes the possibility of his being held up as the first example of ascetic self-renunciation and contemplative repose realized in the country. Nor should it be forgotten that according to the most reliable authorities, the Buddhistic and Jaina types of asceticism were but copies of what may emphatically be called the Hindu type, the model set forth in records like Baudhiana, recently translated and published in connection with Max Müller's series of "Sacred Books of the East."

Again it was the example of an ascetic of dignified gait and serene countenance that brought Buddha's wavering mind to the decision to which his career as a reformer should be traced. He is, moreover, said to have placed himself, though only for a season, under the teaching of one recluse philosopher after another, and held long conversations with a few of the acknowledged teachers of monastic philosophy. And besides his greatest opponents throughout the entire period of his public career were bands of philosophers, of whose leaning towards austerity, more rigorous than what was practised by his followers, he had to show the fruitlessness by elaborate trains of thought and reasoning. These facts make it plain that asceticism, and the meditation associated therewith,

were growing into popularity when Buddha began and carried on his career of reform.

It is desirable to mention here that the recluse philosophers, who gave Buddha and his immediate followers the greatest trouble, were called Tirthakas ; and some glimpses of their beliefs, and specially of their *modus operandi* are presented in the Ceylonese records translated by Hardy. These seem to have formed a sect, or rather a group of sects, the members of which literally out-Heroded Herod. Some of these, under the guidance of a leader named Purana-Kasyapa, appeared perfectly naked, like the Adamites of Christendom, maintaining the principle involved in the following declaration of their chief :—"Clothes are for the covering of shame : shame is the effect of sin ; I am a *rahat*, and as I am free from evil desire, I know no shame." Some, under the guidance of Ajitakasakambata, appeared in hairy garments, and with close-shaven heads, maintaining that "it is an equal sin to kill a fish and to eat its flesh ; that to destroy a creeping plant and to take life is an equal crime." A third party, under the leadership of Kakudasatya, "taught that when cold water is drunk many creatures are destroyed, and that, therefore, warm water is to be used, whether for the washing of the feet or any other purpose." A fourth sect "taught that we shall all appear in the next birth as we are now ; whosoever is now great or mean, a man or a deva, a biped, a quadruped, without feet or with one foot, will be exactly the same in the new birth." A fifth party followed a leader who said that he was without sin, and that if any one had any doubt on that subject whatever, he might come to him, and he would explain it." The picture drawn of these sects, marred though it doubtless is by the painter wilfully, is vivid enough to show that they were stricter than Buddhists in their loyalty to ascetic principle, more Pharisaic in their professions, wilder in their flights of thought and belief ; and that, though split into sects holding diverse opinions, they were unanimous in their opposition to Buddhism. In these delineations, moreover, we see some of the characteristic principles of Jainism, not only in a germinal but in a fully developed form.

The means employed by the champions of this rival school of philosophy were not all fair. They carried on discussions with him, propounded questions, proposed difficulties, and tried by arguments to demonstrate the reasonableness of their own position, and the absurdity of that of their antagonists. Thus far, their *modus operandi* was thoroughly fair and unobjectionable. But they had recourse to very questionable, or rather reprehensible expedients, to compass their end. They tried to bring Buddha and his followers into disrepute by circulating

slanders, wilfully misrepresenting their doctrines, and artfully drawing away many of those by whom these reformers were revered and venerated as heaven-sent teachers. Nay, they carried their malignity to a preposterous length. They induced a female devotee of theirs to accuse Buddha himself of incontinence in the presence of his followers, pretending to be *enclente*; but her wiles were disclosed by supernatural influence, and she was dragged through flames of fire down into the lowest hell, *Avitchi*;—a fate shared in by four other persons, Devadatta, the Judas Iscariot of Buddhist legends, who was the founder of a sect stricter than Buddha's, Devadatta's father, Suprabuddha, a nobleman who is said to have violated the chastity of a priestess, and the man “who reviled Buddha for seven days.”

Even barring the fact that schools of ascetic philosophy, not perhaps in a state of maturity of organization, had existed before the public appearance of Buddha, and did exist side by side with that of which he laid the foundation, the noticeable points of contact between his scheme of thought and that of Kapila, the acknowledged founder of the Shankhya school, suggest a question of great importance. The main features of the cosmogony and soteriology presented in the following passage in the *Sanyutta*, as translated by Gogerly, and published years ago in the *Ceylon Friend*, cannot but show the similarity, if not identity, of the two systems:—

“On account of ignorance,” said Buddha, “merit and demerit are produced, on account of merit and demerit consciousness; on account of consciousness, body and mind; on account of body and mind, six organs of sense; on account of six organs of sense, touch (or contact); on account of contact, desire; on account of desire, sensation (of pleasure and pain); on account of sensation, cleaving (or clinging to existing objects); on account of clinging to existing objects, renewed existence (or reproduction after death); on account of reproduction of existence, birth; on account of birth, decay, death, sorrow, crying, pain, disgust, and passionate discontent. Thus is produced the complete body of sorrow. From the complete separation from, and cessation of, ignorance, is cessation of merit and demerit; from the cessation of merit and demerit is the cessation of consciousness; from the cessation of consciousness is the cessation of (the existence of) body and mind; from the cessation of (the existence of) body and mind is the cessation of (the production of) the six organs; from the cessation of (the production of) the six organs is the cessation of touch; from the cessation of touch is the cessation of desire; from the cessation of desire is the cessation of (pleasurable or painful) sensation; from the

cessation of sensation, is the cessation of cleaving to existing objects ; from the cessation of cleaving to existing objects, is the cessation of a reproduction of existence ; from the cessation of a reproduction of existence, is the cessation of birth ; from the cessation of birth, is the cessation of decay. Thus this whole body of sorrow ceases to exist."

This concatenation of potencies, and what may be called possibilities, is somewhat differently set forth in Suddharma-Pundarica recently translated by Keru. In speaking of the teaching of a former Tathagata, Buddha says :—" He moreover extensively set forth how the series of causes and effects is involved, (and said) it is thus : Monks ? from ignorance proceed conceptions (or fancies) ; from conceptions proceeds understanding (consciousness) ; from understanding, name and form ; from name and form, the six senses ; from the six senses proceed contact ; from contact, sensation ; from sensation proceeds longing ; from longing proceeds striving ; from striving, as cause, issues existence ; from existence, birth ; from birth, old age, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay and despondency. So originates this mass of misery. From the suppression of ignorance results the suppression of conceptions," and so on, till we come to the extinction of "the whole mass of misery."

In these extracts some of the catagories of the Sankhya system are mentioned, and the Sankhya account of bondage and liberation is presented with some variation of nomenclature, but without much material difference. And the question naturally rises—who was the originator of these ideas, Kapila or Buddha ? Dr. Banerjea maintains, in contravention of the received opinion, that Buddha was the originator, not Kapila, whose speculations he traces to a period posterior not only to the advent of that reformer, but also to that of the founder specially of the Nayaya School, Gautama. But although he sets aside the received opinion, he very adroitly transfers the burden of proof to his opponents. This, we maintain, is illogical, inasmuch as the person who opposes current views, and ventilates fresh opinions in supercession thereof, is bound by every principle of correct reasoning, to bring forward proofs of a cogent and conclusive stamp in support of his new position.

It is conceded, on all hands, that the question raised cannot be settled with chronological accuracy by evidence of a conclusive nature. But some importance should be attached to a line of, *a priori* reasoning, which may be advanced in favor of the position gainsaid or controverted by the learned doctor. We, of course, set aside as valueless the tradition, that the city of Kapila-Vastu derived its name from Kapila, who is said

to have practised austerity and abandoned himself to meditation, on the identical spot on which that royal city was subsequently built. But we maintain that scepticism moves gradually, by slow steps, not *per saltum*. Infidelity appears at first in its milder forms, and progresses step by step, till its tone of modesty gives place to oracular assurance, and it itself is swallowed up in absolute scepticism. The history of the progress of infidelity in England and other European countries corroborates this assertion. The mild form of Theism ushered into England by Lord Herbert of Cherbury passed through developments more and more malignant, and ultimately degenerated into rank atheism under the guidance of reckless thinkers like Hume. The mild form of rationalism introduced into Germany by Semler degenerated through one line of development into the ribaldry of the Wolfenbuttel Fragments, and through another into the ingeneous but fanciful theories of Paulus, Schenkel and Strauss. Infidelity in India pursued, it may safely be assumed, a similar course. It appeared at first in its milder forms, grew in cumulative malignity, and ultimately degenerated into rank scepticism. Now, Buddhism represents a stage of scepticism decidedly more advanced than Sankhya philosophy. The Sankhya philosopher paid some reverence or homage, though perhaps ostensibly, to the canonical scriptures of the country, the sacred Vedas; and his attitude towards the hierarchical orders and current superstitions was one of mild tolerance, not of avowed hostility. Buddha, however, boldly set aside these scriptures as documents corrupt to the very core, and assumed an attitude decidedly more hostile towards the established priesthood, and the rites and ceremonies maintained by them more for their own benefit, than for that of the masses by whom they were looked up to as demi-gods. His scepticism, therefore, may on *a priori* grounds, be justly represented as a later development.

Whether the question raised is susceptible of solution or not, one thing is certain that Buddha was the father of those types of speculative philosophy, which have been branded as *heterodox* in the country. An attempt has indeed been made to represent Buddhism as an offshoot of Jainism; but the attempt has collapsed so thoroughly, that a bare allusion to it is enough. "The good old ways" have maintained their ascendancy, and recent criticism has failed to check, what may be called the public propensity to hold up Kapila as the father of orthodox, and Buddha as the father of heterodox philosophy in India.

It is strange that, while Buddha has been presented in recent publications in a variety of aspects, as a lofty character, a pure model, a deep thinker, a moralist, a reformer, a poet, and a

speaker of engaging mien, sweet thought and fascinating power, his position as the founder of a line of schools of philosophy, of a free thought type, has been ignored. Perhaps, this has been done deliberately. The weakest point in Buddha's teaching is his philosophy ; and till it is studiously concealed behind the veil, or thrown into the background, nothing like an enthusiastic admiration of his career of reform can possibly be evoked. Buddha's character presents some features of undoubtedly excellence and his morality is not without some maxims of a lofty character eminently calculated to alleviate its general gloom. But Buddha's philosophy is a tissue of unmitigated nonsense, and the less said about it by his admirers, the better !

To get to the bottom of Buddhistic philosophy, we have to go back to the four truths he is said to have discovered after a long period of meditation under the celebrated Bo-tree. These truths have been variously stated by various writers ; but the statement of these fundamentals presented in Rhys Davids' little volume entitled "Buddhism" is fitter, more complete, more comprehensive than any other which has fallen under our notice. That statement runs thus :—

"That (those events which are distinctive of individual existence, such as) birth, the fine Skandhas, decay, disease, death and (those which bring forcibly into the mind the sense of separate existence, such as) contact with disagreeable objects, separation from pleasant ones, unfulfilled desire of possession, are precisely those states which are full of suffering or sorrow.

2. "The kind of craving excitement, which follows sensation, and causes the delusion of self and the lust of life—creating either delight in the objects that present themselves, or an eager desire to supply a felt want—this eager, yearning thirst (Trishna, Pali Tanha) growing into sensuality, desire of future life, or love of the world, is the origin of all suffering.

3. "Sorrow and suffering will be overcome, extinguished if this 'thirst' be quenched, this lust of life destroyed. He who overcomes the contemptible thirst (difficult to be conquered in this world), sufferings fall off from him, like drops from a lotus-leaf.

4. "To accomplish this end there is only one way—the 'noble path' of a virtuous and thoughtful life : 'enter on this path and make an end of sorrow : verily, the path 'has' been preached by me, who have found out how to quench the darts of grief. You yourselves must make the efforts : the Buddhas are only 'preachers : the thoughtful, who enter the path, are freed from the bondage of the deceiver MARA.' And this means of salvation is not a mere admonition to 'be good.' It is worked out into detail, and expressed in the Eight Divisions and Four Stages."

These fundamental conclusions arrived at by Buddha after so much trouble, *are errors rather than truths*. The first states a patent fact with obvious exaggeration ; and may, therefore, be held up as an example of hasty, inaccurate, and unauthorized generalization. There is no doubt a great deal of sorrow in the world, and not a little of it proceeds from the causes mentioned. The optimism, which refuses to recognize its existence, and represents it as nothing but good, incipient happiness or joy in embryo, simply plays with the hard facts of life. But while the optimist view should be set aside as inconsistent with experience or the obvious teachings of empirical philosophy, the pessimism which sees nothing but suffering in nature, should also be avoided. Buddha, however, adopted the pessimist view with eagerness, and preached it with melancholy enthusiasm. Life was to him one long, unbroken, uninterrupted tissue of sorrow and misery, without a single ray of real joy to flicker through its terrific gloom. Did he ignore the varieties of things in nature eminently fitted to minister to our comfort and enhance our enjoyment ? Did he fail to recognize the emotions of the human heart, which, when properly developed and properly applied, might prove copious, if not perennial, sources of delight and felicity to us ? He was certainly aware—how could he not be ?—of the existence of objects out of, and feelings in, man fitted to subserve the obvious design of nature to make him as comfortable and happy as under his present circumstances he can be. But in his opinion the fleeting pleasures he may derive from separation from disagreeable, and contact with agreeable objects, do not deserve the name of pleasures ;—they are so evanescent, so illusory, so deceptive ; nor did he look upon the nobler enjoyments ensured by a proper culture of the higher elements of human nature as deserving of the name. The pleasures of life are in his opinion to be as scrupulously avoided as its pains, and that because they, besides being short-lived and fleeting, are accompanied with and followed by sorrow and suffering. *No joy in life*—is his motto.

But did not Buddha speak of a sliding scale of heavens representing different degrees of bliss more or less pure and unalloyed ? He certainly did, but the promised enjoyment in all these regions being terminable, and accompanied with some degrees of sorrow when not self-oblivious, it was never represented by him as desirable except as a species of training needed by minds of a grosser mould. Even such bliss, though admittedly so much sublimer than what is attainable in this vale of tears, and so much more durable, is after all bliss improperly so called. Life has no sunny spot in it, here or elsewhere, no tinge of joy properly so called, nothing to mitigate

its gloom in the opinion of men, who have extinguished all carnality of thought and feeling within themselves by meditation on its sorrows ! This melancholy conclusion we look upon us essentially erroneous, the upshot of a dyspeptic, morose, cynical view of things, not the outgrowth of a healthy, calm, philosophical view.

The second of Buddha's fundamental conclusions traces human sorrow to a wrong source, "the delusion of self and the lust of life." Our sorrows proceed from an improper development and misapplication of the varied elements of our nature, not certainly from our unavoidable self-consciousness and instinctive love of existence. We flee under the influence of what may be called an indwelling demon from things calculated to make us happy, and eagerly run after those which cannot but make us miserable ; and therefore the sorrows of life ought to be traced to this centrifugal tendency of our corrupt nature, not certainly to our inherent and indestructible love of life !

The third conception involves an impossibility. The sorrows of life are happily terminable, but not certainly in the way indicated. The lust of life is indestructible, under present, if not under all conceivable varieties of circumstances, and if the destruction of sorrow were dependent on its extinction, despair and despondency would be our portion. The fourth conception, the proposed remedy, should now be taken into consideration. That remedy is the Noble Path, the Eight-fold Path, emphatically called the Middle Path. Does not Buddha in calling the path of virtue the Middle Path seem to have anticipated the Aristotlean definition of virtue ? Aristotle defined virtue as the golden mean between opposite extremes, or rather between excess and defect ; and he showed the appositeness or accuracy of his definition by specifying not a few of the well-known virtues, and setting forth, in case of each of them, an aberration on the side of excess, as well as on the side of defect. Does not Buddha seem to have pitched upon this happy medium in his middle path long before Aristotle was born ? Several recent writers are of opinion that he did, although they do not conjure up the shade of Aristotle for invidious comparison. Beal, in his small volume on "Buddhism in China," thus describes what he calls "his method :—" "The method was in the use of moderation, neither asceticism on one hand, nor license on the other."

If the middle path were indeed the golden mean between opposite extremes, the line where defect ends, and beyond which excess begins, the praise lavished upon it would be well deserved. We maintain that the greatest glory of Christianity is the steadiness with which it invariably steers a

middle course between the Scylla of defect and the Charybdis of excess. Christ was himself an example of a character thoroughly well-balanced, and He trod what might be called the Middle Path between the attitudinarianism of the Pharisees and the latitudinarianism of the Sadducees ; between John the Baptist, in whom the prophetic spirit of earnest asceticism culminated, and Judas Iscariot in whom intense and all-absorbing secularity appeared in a form of treachery, perhaps not so mean as people generally suppose, inasmuch, as according to DeQuincey, whose speculations on the subject are worthy of sober thought, his object in betraying his Master was to hasten his anticipated assumption of royal authority and functions, and the rise in consequence of the Apostles, and of himself as of one them, in dignity and wealth.

The religion of Christ may also be described as the golden mean between opposite extremes. It steers a middle course between rationalism and superstition ; between spiritualism and formalism ; between what has been called the inwardness of religion and its outwardness ; between this worldliness and "other worldliness," as well as between asceticism and libertinism. And if Buddhism could be proved equally cautious in avoiding extremes, its resemblance to our religion in this respect would be apparent, and its excellence in consequence indisputable. But the fact unhappily is that Buddhism, after perhaps a period of vacillation, settled down into a system of gloomy monasticism ; and its middle path is the *via media* not between ascetism and license, but between domestic life and penance and self-torture. Let us hear what Dhamma-Kakka-Ppanātana-Sutta, or the foundation of the kingdom of righteousness or the wheel of the Law—translated by Rhys Davids, and presented along with other translations in Vol. XI of Sacred Books of the East—says about the middle path :—

" There are two extremes, oh Bhikshus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and specially of sensuality—a low and pagan way (of seeking satisfaction) unworthy, unprofitable and fit only for the worldly-minded and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism (self-mortification) which is painful, unworthy and unprofitable.

" There is a middle path, on Bhikshus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata, a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana."

These extracts are transcribed from Buddha's first sermon delivered, when "the blessed one was staying at Benares at the hermitage called Migadaya" in the hearing of his first five

followers. In them the middle path is marked out only for those who "have given up the world," that is, who have renounced family-life and betaken themselves to monastic seclusion ; and the only warning protest it lifts up, is directed against the varieties of self-inflicted tortures, which were represented as indispensably necessary to growth in virtue. This path has eight members and four stages. The members are thus set forth in the record already named :—

"Now this, oh Bhikshus, is the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow. Verily, it is this noble eight-fold path, that is to say,—

1 Right views	5 Right livelihood
2 Right aspirations	6 Right effort
3 Right speech	7 Right mindfulness
4 Right conduct	8 Right contemplation."

This is an ascending series, of which every succeeding link is connected with the preceding as an effect is related to its cause. Right views lead to right aspirations, and these successively to right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and the last and greatest of Buddhist attainments, right contemplation. Right views, therefore, are the basis, and if they are properly so-called, the superstructure stands on a rocky foundation ; but if they are errors, rather than truths, the building stands on a sandy foundation. The question, therefore, arises, are the views called right, really right ? To settle this problem, let us raise another question. Of what are the views pronounced right presented ? The answer is, first of the Universe, then of man, then of the Law, then of the Promulgator of the Law, and lastly of Nirvana, the end of the Law.

The corner-stone of the Buddhistic view of the universe is the doctrine of impermanence. This doctrine stands in bold relief from Buddhistic writings, being the one doctrine on which the greatest stress is laid, and which is presented in a variety of forms, illustrated by a variety of analogies, and brought home to individual conviction by a variety of arguments. Some of the passages in which it is set forth are given below :—

"So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the seven-fold perception due to earnest thought, that is to say, the perception of impermanence, of non-individuality, of corruption, of the danger of sin, of sanctification, of purity of heart, of Nirvana, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper"—(*Mahaparinibbanna-Sutta*).

"But the spirits who are free from passion hear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins 'impermanent, indeed, are all component things.' How then is it

possible (whereas anything whatever, when born brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution) ; how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist."—*Mahaparibbanna-Sutta*.

" When the blessed one died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :—

' They are transient all, each being's parts and powers,
Growth is their nature and decay.'

' They are produced, they are dissolved again :
And then is best when they have sunk to rest.'

Mahaparinibbanna-Sutta).

" Thus spoke the blessed one, and when the happy one had thus spoken, once again, the Teacher said :—

' How transient are all component things'
Growth is their nature and decay.'

' They are produced, they are dissolved again :
And then is best when they have sunk to rest :

(Maha-Sudassana)

In a Jatak story, given by Rhys Davids in his introduction to *Maha-Sudassana-Sutta*, these lines are thus explained :—

" In these verses the words ' how transient are all component things ! ' mean, dear lady Subhada, wheresoever and by whatsoever causes made or come together, compounds,—that is all existing things,—all these compounds are impermanence itself. For of these form is impermanent, reason is impermanent, the (mental) eye is impermanent, the qualities are impermanent. And whatever treasure there be, whether conscious or unconscious, that is transitory. Understand, therefore, ' how transient are component things ! '

And why ? ' Growth is their, nature and decay.' These all have the inherent quality of coming into (individual) existence, and have also the inherent quality of growing old ; or (in other words,) their very nature is to come into existence and to be broken up. Therefore, should it be understood, they are impermanent.

" And since they are impermanent, when ' they are produced, they are dissolved again.' Having come into existence, having reached a state, they are surely dissolved. For all these things come into existence taking an individual form, and are dissolved, being broken up. To them as soon as there is birth, there is what is called a state ; as soon as there is a state, there is what is called disintegration. . . . Thus, are all compounds, having attained to the three characteristic marks (of impermanency, of pain, and of want of any abiding principle), subject in this way and that way, to dissolution. All these component things, therefore, without exception, are

impermanent; momentary, despicable, unstable, disintegrating, trembling, quaking, unlasting, sure to depart, only for a time, and without substance ;—as temporary as a phantom, as the mirage or as foam.

“ How then in these, dear lady Subhada, is there any sign of ease? Understand rather that ‘then is best, when they have sunk to rest,’ but their sinking to rest, their cessation comes from the cessation of the whole round (of life), and is the same as Nirvana. That, and this are one. And hence there is no such thing as ease.”

These extracts suggest some questions of grave importance, to which we shall revert after presenting a quotation from the Dhammapada as translated by Beal. The very first chapter of this sacred book of the Buddhist is entitled “ Impermanence,” and presents some incidents, or rather fables, in support of the doctrine. The chapter begins thus :—

“ Whatever exists, is without endurance. And hence the terms ‘flourishing’ and ‘decaying.’ A man is born, and then he dies. Oh the happiness of escaping this condition! For the life of man is but as the earthen vessels made in a potter’s mill; formed with such care, they are all destined to destruction.

“ As the waters of a river hasten on, and flow away, and once gone, never return, such is the life of man. That which is gone knows not any return.”

Let us now state the questions suggested categorically, and endeavour, by a careful analysis of these citations, to answer them.

The very first question suggested is, does Buddha present what is called the atomic view of creation? All the objects of Nature are represented throughout the entire compass of Buddhist literature as component things, compounds or aggregates; and the representation cannot but suggest the question of what are they composed? Or what are their constituent elements? It is not enough to say that the visible and tangible objects of Nature are composed of the substances regarded as elemental in ancient times, *viz.*, the earth, water, air, fire and ether. The descriptions embodied in the above extracts, and many others which may be presented, would be meaningless, if each of these were not held up as a component thing or compound. The ultimate powers of nature are therefore not these aggregates, but the constitutive and constituent elements of these so-called elements. What are these ultimates, these subtle powers, which assume such varieties of forms, pass through so many transformations, and present indications of such plastic energy and ceaseless activity? Are they atoms of the same configuration, equal size and equal

measure of inherent potentiality? Or, are they of various shapes and powers like the different kinds of atoms described in Hindu literature as aqueous, igneous, terrene, or aerial? Again, how do they move—horizontally or perpendicularly? And, lastly, how do they combine, integrate, and disintegrate—by an external pressure communicated to them or by an erratic move on the part of some of them? These questions cannot be settled except by an unwarrantable move on the part of the investigator from what is written to what is not written, or a jump from the sure platform of documentary evidence into the uncertainty and wildness of unrestrained conjecture. But it is plain that an interminable mass of atomic subsistences, monad or nebulae or star-dust or fiery mist, must be presupposed to make the descriptions given of component things coherent, consistent or rational.

The second question refers to the comprehensiveness of what is, in one of these quotations, called "the round of life." What does this round embrace? Does it only comprehend the vast chain of living organisms on the surface of the globe, perceptible or inferable, beginning with the lowest, and ascending in a scale beautifully graduated up to man, the apex of creation in this nether world? Or, does it extend beyond its confines and embrace the varied objects of what is called inanimate creation? It certainly includes matter, both organized and unorganized, things animate and inanimate. "Things" and "beings" are used interchangeably in these and other passages, and no such difference as is involved in the possession or non-possession of what is understood by life, is indicated. All things, those which are said to be with, as well as those which are said to be without life, are described as having sprung into *formal* existence, as flourishing on its vast theatre and vanishing into non-existence precisely in the same manner, that is, by a process of integration and disintegration. And, what is still more to the point, they all, without exception, present "the three marks" of impermanence, pain, and want of any abiding principle. According to the Buddhist scheme of thought every object in Nature is instinct with life, and there is no such form of existence as a lifeless thing. And, therefore, in Buddhist countries, like China, the lifeless objects of Nature are represented and looked upon as having "spirits" concealed in them, "spirits" with which communication may be maintained in specified conditions, and from which adequate help may be sought and obtained. Every mountain or hill, river or rivulet, tree or plant, fruit or flower,—nay, every particle of matter, visible or invisible, has within it, discoverable by the spirit within us, though not seen by the bodily eye, a genius conscious of power, and ready under special circumstances to extend

its help to human beings in trouble. Where is the theory of the unity and continuity of life worked out more thoroughly than within the circumference of Buddhistic belief and practice?

An all-diffusive, all-comprehensive mass of matter, each particle of which is instinct with life, being the *ultima thule* of Buddhist metaphysics, what definition of matter must be posited or presupposed to give shape and consistency to the scheme? Obviously the ordinary definition, that which represents matter as inert or dead, would be inadmissible, as inconsistent with its whole texture of thought and speculation; and recourse must be had to the definition now made fashionable by a certain class of scientists, *viz.*, that by which "the lump-theory" is hissed off the stage, and matter is represented as a sort of mystic energy, which appears in varieties of forms, more or less evanescent. That this definition of matter was *consciously* adopted and categorically stated by Buddha, is not affirmed. His scheme represented materialism of the grosser sort; but some approach towards the refined view of matter insisted on by men like Professor Tyndall, was certainly made by him; and his followers have had the wisdom or unwisdom to push it to its legitimate consequences, by looking upon every particle of matter as a conscious ego, and ushering in the beliefs and devotions incident to the lowest types of fetishism.

Again, the question arises, what is meant by "the cessation of the whole round of life?"—cessation of form or cessation of substance? decomposition or disintegration into the original mass of chaotic matter, or such annihilation of matter as leaves no residuum behind, but an infinite void. This question will come up for discussion under a separate heading, and need not detain us here: suffice it to say, that the extracts presented plainly indicate a cessation of formal, rather than of substantial existence. A broad line of demarcation is drawn between compounds or component things and simple substance; and disintegration, dissolution, or cessation, is distinctly predicated of the aggregates, not of the underlying, shapeless, crude material, whatever that may be.

But it should be noted here that "the round of life," which ends in cessation of form, rather than of substance, extends far and wide beyond the horizon of this world. It includes, not merely all things animate and inanimate, all matter organized or unorganized, in this world, but the interminable chain of substances running through the ascending scale of heavens and the descending scale of hells posited in Buddhist literature. There are, according to Buddhistic belief, five hells occupied by different orders of evil spirits, and no less than

twenty-two heavens,—the six regions of *Nats* reserved for those who have not yet had all vestige of concupiscence swept away from their hearts, and sixteen superior heavens rising one above another in a perpendicular line, the first twelve for the entertainment of embodied saints who have made progress through the inferior degrees of meditation, and the last four for that of disembodied spirits, who have gone through its superior stages. These disembodied spirits, though cut off from attachment to the earth and its concerns, have forms potentially existing in them ; and therefore they cannot be ranked with those who have gone out of formal existence, and been engulfed in Nirvana. Bigandet is right in tracing this eschatology to the influence of Hindu philosophy on Buddhist literature ; but there is no ground for maintaining that no portion of it formed part and parcel of original Buddhism. Now the innumerable orders of beings occupying these abodes of bliss and misery, from Sekra or Brahma, the king of the heavens, down to the five spirits consigned to the lowest hell during the lifetime of the reformer, and others doomed to the same fate ever since, are included in this immense, all-embracing, all-comprehending round of life, which rises like a mighty wave from the surface of unformed matter, sweeps onwards according to unalterable laws, and ultimately dies on its bosom, leaving it in its original, shapeless, confused mass. Here we have the modern theory of evolution and involution, not merely adumbrated, but sketched out in all its fulness !

And now we come to the last of the questions suggested by the extracts presented. Are the varied types of formal existence, noticeable in this world and the other regions of bliss and misery posited, mere illusions ? If so, in what sense ? They are in one of these extracts described as " temporary as a phantom, as the mirage or as foam." They are in almost innumerable passages represented as illusory, phantom-like, deceptive and tantalizing. But the question is, are they represented as unsubstantial in the sense of being nothing more than deceptive phenomena ? Or, in Vedantic phraseology, are they represented as the illusory creations of Maya ? Dr. Banerjea's assumption of the priority of Buddhism to every system of philosophic thought in India, rests on Buddhistic representations of the illusory nature of all forms of existence ; and he emphatically expresses the opinion, that such representations would be meaningless, unless the Maya theory of the Vedantic schools were regarded as constituting their groundwork. Nay, he goes further and maintains that the Hindu philosophers of Vedantic proclivities borrowed their ideas of Maya, as well as Mukti, from Buddhism. There is, however, no ground whatever for this belief. Component things are indeed represented

in Buddhist records as illusory ; but their illusoriness proceeds, not from their unsubstantial immaterial character, but simply from their momentariness or evanescence. They appear as if they were destined to live for ever, but they are in reality short-lived, temporary, evanescent ; and the appearance of permanence they present is therefore justly characterized as illusive. They are said to be contemptible, because they are not durable ; and they are held up as things to be deprecated, avoided, shunned, literally fled from, because they inflict, and cannot but inflict pain and sorrow. But surely their non-substantiality is nowhere maintained within the compass of Buddhist literature, excepting the portion which is admittedly of later growth.

It is not denied that the Maya theory may be reasoned out of Buddha's speculations about name and form (*nām* and *rūpā*) ; but no proof whatever is adducible in support of the assertion, that the theory in question was elaborated by Buddha in the form in which it has swayed the national mind for ages untold ; and consequently the charge of plagiarism, preferred against Hindu philosophy by the learned author of " Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy," has yet to be substantiated.

The speculations embodied in Buddhist philosophy about man, the law, the promulgator of the law, and Nirvana, the end proposed by the law, must be reserved for another section, this having reached its prescribed limit. A detailed study of the philosophical aspects of Buddhism will not be deemed unimportant by those, who look upon that system, not only as the centre of a mighty revolution, but as the fountain of several schemes of philosophic thought, which have run on alongside of, and ultimately merged in speculations deemed orthodox in the country.

This paper, however, ought not to be concluded before a reference is made to the extent to which the doctrine of impermanence is carried in Buddhist records of later growth. That extent is shown by a term with which the word impermanence is used interchangeably, *viz.*, momentariness. Forms according to these have fluxional, not permanent existence, and they change momentarily as "a bank of cloud ;" and consequently if a durable substrate were not posited, there would be no such thing as substantial unity under formal variety, and all that would remain would be a succession of separate existences, each lasting for a moment, and vanishing into nonentity before its successor. That an absurd theory like this, did spring from Buddhistic philosophy is a fact ; but it is plain that Buddha himself did not mean, when insisting on his theory of transitoriness or impermanence, any thing more than what is understood in these days by the terms

co-existences, successions and transmutations of material phenomena. When, however, this theory is made to embrace spirits, as well as material forms, and carried to the length of atheistic denial of a Ruling Spirit unchangeable in power, wisdom and holiness, who will stand up and pronounce it correct? So far as the corner-stone of Buddhistic philosophy is concerned, the belauded "right views" are *wrong!*

(To be continued.)

RAM CHANDRA BOSE.

ART. IV.—OUR STATION. TWENTY YEARS AGO.

LOWER Bengal is not noted for its healthiness, and when we were sent to Rainypur, the head-quarters of the Swampy Gunge district, we groaned in spirit. What sin had we been guilty of, that we should be sent to Bengal, and to Lower Bengal, too—the abode of every abomination that India is cursed with.

Our friends wept over us. They conjured up visions of fever, ague, and all unhealthiness ; told us horrible tales of other friends who had either left their bones in the mouldy cemeteries, or had escaped from this fever-striken part of the universe with shattered health and broken spirits.

Why do one's friends and acquaintances always remember the objectionable remarks they have heard about one's future station, and forget the favorable ones ? With sinking hearts we prepared for our journey. A letter from our predecessor cast a ray of light across our path. Having a large family he was sorry he could not put us up, but he would have some rooms ready for us in the Circuit Bungalow, and we could stay there until we suited ourselves with a bungalow. We could, if it suited us to do so, take his furniture servants and everything. He was keeping his list for us to see, &c.

It is satisfactory to know where to go to when you arrive in a new station. Journeys were not quite so easily accomplished in those days as they are now, and we were not sorry when our palkees were put down, with rather more suddenness than was agreeable—in the verandah of the Circuit House of Rainypur. Friendly voices greeted us at once, and we were taken possession of, refreshed with tea and pegs, and that, greatest of all luxuries, a good bath ; all our creature comforts were attended to, and everything provided that could make us comfortable.

Within a very few days we knew everyone in the station. Offers of assistance came from every side. Would we put up with the Judge and his wife ? Did we want a pony and trap ? The Magistrate would lend us one. The hospitality we received was unbounded, and we had every reason to be pleased with our surroundings. With the important exception of the climate, we had nothing to complain of, that certainly was very bad ; hot, steamy, stuffy, fever reeking in every part of the country, and malaria rising after every shower of rain.

The climate could not be improved, but every thing was done

that could be done to make time pass pleasantly, and to provide sufficient entertainment and amusement for the European residents, to keep them from sinking into the dull, monotonous, do-nothing state that characterises most Bengal stations of the present time. Our *Burra Sahib* and his wife did their duty to their neighbours in the regular old Indian style. They took the lead in everything, got up races, gave dances, dinners, picnics, and entertained the whole station, as well as the neighbouring Planters whenever the presence of any high officers called for anything extra in the way of official dinners. Inspecting Officers were not left to the tender mercies of the Circuit House Chowkedar, but were hospitably entertained. During the race week and the Pujah, the Judge's compound, and, indeed, nearly every compound in the place, was full of tents for the accommodation of visitors from the district.

Human beings are very like sheep in some respects. They generally follow a leader. If the head of a station does not entertain, or join in any of the amusements that enterprising members of the community get up, everything falls through. If he is a married man, so much the worse, for no other lady can well take the lead when the *Burra Mem Sahib* is in the station, even though she does nothing towards making it a pleasant one.

Mrs. Oldoak was a perfect *Burra Mem Sahib*. She drew the residents and the Planters together, and made herself popular with both parties. What pleasant evenings were spent at her house ; tennis was unknown in those days, but the much despised game of Croquet, Badminton, Cricket and La Grace were played in the compound, while Mrs. Oldoak presided at the tea table under the pipul trees, and talked to the non-players of the party. Sometimes there was music, sometimes cards, when the weather was too wet for out-door games.

Practising for the choir, rehearsals for private theatricals, and various other amusements filled up the evenings pleasantly, and afforded plenty of entertainment for every one.

The rest of the residents followed the good example set them by the Oldoaks, and, but for a few troublesome people, such as are to be found in almost every station in India, every one lived on friendly terms with each other. Two people there were who would have disturbed the peace of Paradise, if ever they found their way there : Dr. Thorny Bluster, and Mrs. Waving Willow were decidedly very objectionable. The gentlemen sometimes said a good word for the latter, but no one was ever known to take the part of the former.

For the Civil Surgeon to be an objectionable character, is a misfortune that effects every one, and when there were plenty

of clever, agreeable young surgeons who would have been only too glad to come to Rainypur, it was aggravating to have such a man as Dr. Thorny Bluster. He might have been clever once, but we doubted it. How he could have scraped through his examinations, was a matter of wonder to every one. Whatever knowledge he had once possessed, had been drowned in brandy. As a family doctor he was useless, as a surgeon dangerous ; like all incompetent men, he bitterly resented not being called in when any one was ill, and yet he required to be sent for two or three times before he went. If he was not on good terms with a person, he refused to attend them at all, and as no medicines could be had in the place without his orders, it was awkward to quarrel with him.

Socially he was a nuisance, quarrelling over every game he played, haggling over the score at Badminton and the points at Whist. In an unlucky moment Oldoak declared that he would never sit down to a rubber with him again. Soon after little Tommy Oldoak burnt himself badly, and the doctor was sent for, because no proper remedies could be had from the hospital without his order. He refused to go and see Tommy until Oldoak had apologised. The Padre's wife doctored Tommy and the Magistrate reported the matter.

Reporting Dr. Bluster did not do much good ; we all hoped that his transfer would follow, but he belonged to an old Indian family. What a nuisance those old Indian families are to ordinary mortals ! Is any coveted appointment vacant ? a member of the Toon family is popped into it ? Is there a vacancy in the Stone and Mortar, or the Prevention of Crime Department ? One of the Tamerind family is ready to fill it. These wonderful old families are to be found all over India, and they are singularly well provided for.

Dr. Thorny Bluster's father was undoubtedly Irish, but his mother was a Neem, and—he was not transferred—yea—though he sinned again and again and was reported, and handed up times without number, he remained at Rainypur to be a thorn in our sides for many a long day.

At last the day of retribution came ; he had pulled out the wrong tooth for the Magistrate, given dill water to our Police Officer, and a black draught to his baby, ordered mustard plasters for a patient covered with boils, blisters for a dead prisoner, and a coffin for a live one—but he went on calmly drinking his bottle of Exshaw a day, and drawing his pay, until his Surgeon-General—a new man, who had no reverence for the House of Neem—arrived at Rainypur. His Medical officer greeted him with a shower of boots, slippers and abuse mistaking him for his bearer, and finally cuffed him well and turned him out of his room.

He retired after that.

Our other thorn in the side was of somewhat the same type, being a daughter of the house of Bael, another well-known old Indian family, but one that is greatly looked down upon by those who boast of their pure European descent. Tall, handsome and young, with dark eyes, and a quantity of rather coarse black hair. Mrs. Waving Willow was an attractive woman; but she was, like her hair, somewhat coarse: she laughed and talked loudly, and swept her handsome skirts about with an air that she imagined to be that of a duchess. A desperate flirt, she yet knew nothing of the delicate refinements of flirtation. Hating her husband, she cared nothing about appearances, and delighted in shocking all the other ladies if she could disgust poor Waving Willow at the same time.

Her temper was what her fond parents called "a little hasty," and other people spoke of as "fiendish." She cared more for admiration than for dress, and more for dress than for her children; but she would have lost her greatest pleasure if she had outlived her power to torment her husband.

He had fallen in love with her handsome face and figure when a mere lad, and married her, believing that his love was returned. Within three months of their marriage she told him that she was sick of his stupid, lovesick nonsense, and had married him merely because another man had jilted her, just out of spite. Poor Willow! after that she was like a millstone round his neck, but he struggled bravely on for a few years, hoping to win her love; after that he gave it up, and devoted himself to the two children. Those who knew him slightly, thought he was very soft and weak to put up with his wife's tantrums, and wondered why he did not separate from her, instead of having to pay her debts continually and live a life of constant misery. But those who knew him well, understood him better; he would bend, but not break, and he bided his time. If he had separated from her when their children were young, she would have had charge of them, and he did not intend to be separated from them. She might do what she liked as long as she did not interfere with the children; he ate his dinner unmoved while she raved at him, he smoked his pipe quietly while she threatened to drown herself, or to run away with her last admirer.

Never by word or look did he reproach her in public for her flirtations, her open disregard of his wishes, or her constant nagging, but it was whispered through the station that there were some scenes in their house that would have made our hair stand on end if we had witnessed them.

* We all knew what her temper was like, for we each in turn

had experience of it. She used to fly from her home in a passion of despair and throw herself weeping upon the neck of anyone who would listen to her tragic accounts of her husband's brutality and meanness. She was a picture of injured innocence, until Willow called to take her back, quite as a matter of course, and then the storm would burst. After an hour or two spent in this amusement of fierce, quarrelling flight, tears, and hysterical sobs, ending in a storm of bitter wrath and abuse, she would turn out as cool and self-satisfied in the evening, as if the morning had been spent in attending to her household duties and nursing her delicate little children. For three years she kept the station quite lively with her flirtations, scandals, and storms, and then the children were sent home and she was sent to her fond parents to give them a taste of her high spirits.

Poor Willow ! he has his separation now, and his children too, and the fair Julia is allowed £100 to live upon. She has started a Boarding-house, which is very popular with our Indian "Arys," and has grown very stout.

Perhaps you may meet the rest of the Rainypur people some other time ; but Rainypur will see them no more as they were in those pleasant days ; if they ever return to that once favored station, they will lament over the change that has taken place in the twenty years of their absence, as we do, and compare the pleasant sociability of past days, with the mouldy depression of the present.

OUR STATION—AS IT IS—has no reason to be proud of its hospitality, sociability, or liveliness, for it possesses neither one nor the other. Upon our second arrival we found no one ready to welcome us ; no friendly offers of assistance. We were called on in due time, and received an invitation to a solemn dinner at the Judge's for the following week. No one has been here long enough to care anything about the place. When officers are moved constantly, they hardly care to lay out much money in making their temporary homes comfortable. Every one, or nearly every one, is poorer than formerly, and is trying to economise to make up for the loss by exchange. When an official leaves, his successor often finds that he cannot afford to take over his bungalow and furniture, and has to be content with a less pretentious residence, and as little furniture as possible. If a man knows that he is going to remain in a station some years, he makes himself comfortable, and does not begrudge the money he lays out in doing so ; but when he knows that he may be moved again in six months, and feels sure that he will be in eighteen, he cannot be expected to spend much during the time he is there.

Every one now is trying, not how to make the time pass

pleasantly, but how to spend least money. Government has set them the example, and economy in every branch has resulted in half empty stations, and overwork for the officials who are left. Too much work means two little recreation, and probably, even if the Oldoaks were in their old place at the head of the station, they could not make it what it was. Want of money and want of time are fatal to sociability.

So also are want of tact, want of inclination, exclusiveness and pride of place. Is it Rainypur alone that suffers from these stumbling-blocks to all that is pleasant and bright in social life? are there more selfish and exclusive people now than there used to be? Certain it is, that our once lively station is as quiet as a churchyard, and that none of the head men make the slightest effort to prevent its being so. The place so worthily filled by the Oldoaks, is now occupied—certainly not filled, for they make no attempt to fit into the place—by Mr. and Mrs. McDeal.

There are no more pleasant gatherings at the Judge's. Mr. McDeal does not play tennis, in fact, he has an aversion to all games,—a sort of natural antipathy to doing anything that might give pleasure to his fellow creatures, unless those fellow creatures are of a different color from himself. As he does not play anything himself, he does not like his wife to play, and as the world to him consists of himself, his wife, and his child, he thinks the matter is settled to the entire satisfaction of the world. Twice or three times a year, the other officials are summoned to a dismal feast, prepared in honor of some greater dignitary of the Civil Service than himself. Oh! the dreariness of those dinners. To go to them, is a penance, to stay away, a dire offence. Being exclusive; which is, as a rule, a sign of bad breeding, or low birth, for people who are well born seldom trouble themselves about keeping up their position; it generally keeps up of itself, and does not require to be constantly paraded before the world: and well-bred people rarely hurt other people's feelings by showing them how inferior they considered them; being exclusive Mr. McDeal (no one thinks of calling him McDeal without the Mr.) does not care to associate with Planters. He has a natural aversion to them; indeed, he has many natural aversions, and they sometimes land him in unpleasant situations. He once told the Commissioner's wife that Tea Planters were a coarse, rowdy set, and, Indigo Planters were a set of unscrupulous rascals; he never cared to associate with them.

"My brother is in Indigo, and our eldest daughter is married to a Tea Planter," the lady replied quietly.

Our Judge subsided.

"Who is that old lady," he asked of a gentleman standing

by him, on one of the rare occasions when he honoured a social gathering with his presence "she is a regular half-caste. W—had no right to ask us to meet such people."

"She is my wife's mother," said the gentleman angrily.

When an enterprising new comer upon whom the mould of the place had not had time to settle, proposed a Gym-khanah Meeting, the McDeals were so frightened at the thought of who they might be compelled to meet, that they went into camp and refused to have anything to do with it. The Collector followed suit on the plea of ill-health and too much work, and the praiseworthy effort was never made again.

No one invites the McDeals to dinner now, because they always refuse any invitations, except the Collector's. They never drink anything but champagne. Now it is an awkward thing to ask any one to dinner, and find that they will not drink the delicious beverage that ordinary mortals find so satisfying,—nothing but champagne. Our Collector, a bachelor with lots of money, which he would gladly exchange for a few years of good health, is also a champagne drinker, and is afraid to change his liquor even for one night because of his liver.

His liver occupies all the attention that he can spare from his official duties, and seriously interferes with his duty to his neighbours. I am sorry for him, but still more so for the station. If the Judge and the Collector do nothing, the rest of the residents are very helpless. None but those whose incomes are large can afford to ask a few friends to dinner, if they have to give champagne every time. This is one reason for the decay of the old fashioned hospitality ; the cost is much greater and incomes are smaller. Many years ago no one but the highest officials in the station thought it necessary to offer their guests champagne except on rare occasions ; the leading planters did not drink it every day, and yet they were exceedingly hospitable and were never accused of being mean, because they did not bring out champagne upon very occasion.

The presence of the rich man at the table of those who are his equals in everything but money, was not then such a difficulty as it is now. Many people can give a good dinner to a few friends, who cannot put expensive wines on the table, but if they know that some of the guests never take anything but those wines, it makes them uncomfortable, and they are careful about repeating the invitation. At the same time, to exclude one or two, from these informal and pleasant little gatherings is pointed, and gives rise to unpleasant feelings. To indulge in whims or fads that separates us from our fellowmen is a form of selfishness, and the habits of most of our present fellow residents certainly tend to check the feeble attempts of the few who wish to instil a little life into the place.

One man objects, like Mr. McDeal, to play at cards, because he thinks it undignified to show how ignorant he is, another because he believes cards to be wicked inventions of the evil one. A third plays whist, but only when he can meet with three other men who can play his game—with American leads, and professional perfection. One man thinks Tennis frivolous —because he never tried to play it; another dislikes it, because it is undignified to get so warm over it; a few like it and would be glad enough to have a good set every evening, but no one else will join them, and if one of them is prevented from playing by press of work—which happens about four times a week—the set is spoilt.

Poor Rainypur! the race course is overgrown with grass and jungle, the racket court is deserted, and rapidly becoming a ruin; the residents live apart from each other, because there is nothing to bring them together; they take a drive every evening, dine in their own houses, and go to sleep afterward with the regularity of a Cutcherry clock. The sociable and hospitable planters now only visit the station when obliged to do so upon business, and have to stay at the Dâk Bungalow. The congregation in the little Church has dwindled down to three ladies and a boy; damp, decay, and mildew is everywhere. Well might we advertise for "a man who loves his fellowmen" to come and take the lead, and drag us out of this slough of despond. I am afraid there are many Rainypurs in India now—let us retire, for verily,

Old times are changed,
Old manners gone!

ESME.

ART. V.—THE MASSACRE OF PATNA.

PART II.

(Continued from the No. for October 1884,
Vol. LXXIX, page 378).

In the Review for October 1884, I gave an account of the Patna Massacre of 1763, taken chiefly from the diary of Dr. Anderson.

The present paper contains the diary of a Mr. Peter Campbell who was confined along with Dr. Anderson in the Chahalsatun, or House of forty pillars, and who doubtless perished with him on the 11th October. Apparently, Campbell was originally a doctor, for he is called Dr. Campbell in Anderson's diary, and he himself speaks of his attending the wounded; but he seems to have abandoned his profession for trade, as Fullarton enters him in his list as a private merchant. Campbell's diary goes over the same ground as Anderson's, but ends on the 16th August. He seems to have been a brave, light-hearted fellow, and there are gleams of humour in his narrative, which are a relief after the somewhat colourless and insipid matter-of-factness of Anderson's diary.

I also publish the official account of the massacre drawn up by Dr. Fullarton. I am indebted for both papers to the Calcutta Foreign Office, where they are preserved in a separate book, along with the diary of Dr. Anderson. The last is, perhaps, a more correct transcript than that which I found among the Hastings' papers in the British Museum. It would appear from it that Dr. Anderson did not make a mistake in his count of the days, and that the error is in the Hastings' copy. In both copies of the diary there are references to a person called Molidar, under the dates 8 August, and 28, 29 September. I have now reason to believe that the person meant is Raja Murlidhar,* who was head of the harkaras, or messengers. M. Raymond translates the word harkara† as spy, but adds in a note that the word spy implies nothing dishonourable in India, and that their chief is always a man of importance, and is a sort of minister of the foreign department. I suppose, then, that Murlidhar's appointment was at least equal to that of the head of the Intelligence Department. Murlidhar was a brahman and

* The flute-holder, a name of Krishna.

† It seems that the word harkara does mean a spy, as well as a messenger. Etymologically it means a man of all work.

one of the principal inhabitants of Azimabad, *i.e.*, Patna, where there is still a part of the town known by his name. Gholam Husein gives him a bad character, but allows him to have had great abilities, and to have been a perfect accountant, though not knowing how to read or write. He seems, too, to have fought well, for he lost an eye and was made prisoner at the disastrous battle near Fatwa, where Cochran, Barwell, and others were killed. He was very influential in the time of Ram Narain, but when Mir Qasim became Subadar, he tortured him, and sent him a prisoner to Jehangirnagar, *i.e.*, Dacca, Sair, 11, 183, Raymond's translation. This account agrees with Dr. Anderson's reference of the 8th August, where he speaks of a report that Molidar had been rescued from his imprisonment in Dacca.

Dr. Chevers in his article on Surgeons in India, Selections from the "*Calcutta Review*," V, 149, gives the following interesting extract from a letter written by Dr. Anderson on the 5th October 1763, to his friend Dr. Davidson :—" Since my last, His Excellency Mir Qasim has been completely defeated, and in consequence, obliged to retreat to Jafar Khan's garden yesterday, and purposes coming into the city this day, 5th October 1763. Sumroo, with the sepoys, arrived here last night, and I suppose, to effect his wicked designs ; for last night Mr. Kelley, (Qu? Ellis,) and forty-three gentlemen with him were massacred, and as about an equal number of soldiers, and us yet remain, I expect my fate this night. Dear D., this is no surprise to me, for I expected it all along. I must, therefore, as a dying man, request of you to collect and remit my estate home as soon as possible, and write a comforting letter to my father and mother ; let them know I die bravely, as a Christian ought, for I fear not him who can kill the body and no more, but I rejoice in hope of a future existence through the merits of my Saviour."

Dr. Chevers does not tell us where he found this affecting farewell.

Journal of the proceedings at Patna kept by MR. PETER CAMPBELL, one of the gentlemen who suffered in the general massacre at that place, commencing the 23rd June and ending with the 16th of August.

June 23rd, 1763.—This day I dined at the Factory with most of the officers, &c., in commemoration of the battle of Plassey, when I observed by the private conferences of Messrs. Ellis, Carstairs, &c., that the public embroils which have been long threatening appeared to be coming near to a crisis, which made me take Carstairs to a side and ask him whether he thought I was safe to stay longer in the city ; he told me, for

that night I may, but no longer, and invited me out to his garden.

24th.—This morning I employed myself in settling matters with my banian and getting my things sent out to Captain Carstairs's; dined at the Factory, where the gentlemen kept everything very private; arrived at Carstairs's about 4 o'clock; upon enquiry of him I understood that they intended attacking the city to-morrow morning, but he had just received a *chit* from Mr. Ellis, wherein he mentioned he had received intelligence by the *qasid* that Mr. Amyatt had been entertained by the Nawab with a natch and came home highly pleased; wherefore he thought their intentions of attack should be deferred till he heard from Mr. Amyatt himself, which he expected that evening, and should then give him immediate notice. Betwixt 8 and 9 a message arrived that he had heard from Mr. Amyatt, and that he had leave of the Nawab to proceed to Calcutta the 24th; wherefore he ordered the attack should be made on the morning as they formerly agreed. Most of the officers supped with Carstairs, and I came into the Factory betwixt 11 and 12, and found all the gentlemen making all preparations for the attack.

25th.—The army moved from Bankipore at 2 o'clock in the morning, and they judged in the Factory that the army would reach the city before 4. Accordingly, about a quarter before 4 we heard a firing, upon which a party of sepoys, which was stationed on the top of the Factory-house, was ordered to keep up a constant fire upon the rampart of the wall next the Factory, and two 3-pounders, which was (*sic*) also there, were ordered to play away upon the same rampart, and the two 24-pounders below kept up an incessant fire till daylight (all this period very little firing was returned from the city, as I believe they were all asleep when attacked). We now observed all the walls lined with our colours and sepoys, which, to be sure, in our situation, was very agreeable, and every minute furnished us with the agreeable news of everything going before us; in short, by 9 we were confidently assured that we were in possession of every post; then our great folks began to look into the administration of the province; parwanas were issuing out to the Faujdars to continue their former obedience in sending in provisions, &c., to the city as formerly. Nazzars were coming in plenty to the Chief, and joy reigned in the face of everybody. Biscuits, wine, &c., were sent in to the officers to refresh them; numbers of wounded men were now coming out of the city, which employed Messrs. Fullarton, Anderson, and self for the day; surmises now passed that we had not as yet got possession of the Qila (fort), and by 12 was confirmed. About 2 o'clock Carstairs and Kinch came

to the Factory and acquainted us that we were beat out of the city, and that it was not in their power to make one man stand; which was the case, for by all accounts less than a hundred men drove our whole army out, and this sad misfortune was entirely owing to the plundering of our sepoyes and soldiers, which turned their courage into avarice, and every one of them thought of nothing but skulking off with what they had got. By 3 most of the scattered army returned into the Factory. Our army consisted as follows:—

Europeans, half Rank and File	...	...	47
Artillery,	ditto	...	19
			<hr/>
		66	... 198

Besides officers.

Sepoys	...	...	...	...	2,500
				Total	2,698
					<hr/>

Returned from the attack.

Europeans, half Rank and File	...	...	42
Artillery,	ditto	...	14
			<hr/>
		56	... 168
Sepoys	..	...	...
			<hr/>
		1,200	
		Total	1,368
			<hr/>
Europeans killed, wounded, and missing	...	...	35
Artillery,	ditto	ditto	6
Sepoys wounded	...	...	100
Do. killed	...	...	150
			<hr/>
		Total	291
			<hr/>

Officers killed

Captain Parry.	|	Lieutenant McDouall.
Lieutenant Downey.	|	Artillery, Lieutenant Reid.

Officers wounded.

Captain Wilson.	|	Captain Joecher.
Lieutenant Parry.		

The great deficiency in the sepoyes is owing to their desertion with their plunder.

After this melancholy accident everybody was greatly nonplussed what was the most prudent step to be taken; as in such case numbers of schemes were proposed, and none could determine what was the most advisable; at last it was fixed to proceed to Sujah-Daula's province, but a great difficulty arose in the procuring of boats. At last with much trouble there were collected as many as we thought would do, and agreed to set off the next evening.

26th.—This morning a very brisk cannonade was kept up both by us and the city, they having mounted some 6-pounders of ours which fell into their hands : we had two or three killed. The whole day a constant fire was continued ; everything was got in readiness for our departure by evening that could be done in our confused situation : they found it impracticable to carry any guns, the reason I don't know ; but we carried a howitzer, but no shells, the reason of that I don't know ; both which, we experimented afterwards, would have been of the utmost consequence to us. Our treasure amounted to pretty near a lakh ; that was shipped off, but by some mismanagement one boat, that part of it was put in, sunk as she was setting off, and with difficulty saved ; the other was too deep and run aground, which obliged them to throw some of it overboard, so that there was deficient Rupees 20,000 the first night. We carried only 25 barrels ammunition, which we found not to be half sufficient for the work we met with afterwards. About 9 o'clock Captain Tabby was sent out with his battalion to draw up on the sand opposite the French Factory, to cover our retreat. Afterwards Mr. Ellis, with some of the civilians and your humble servant, came off, and got a company of Tabby's sepoys, and marched to find the boats, which were about four or five kos, and to our great mortification did not find them in the place we imagined them to have been. The Europeans left the Factory about 11, and then our whole shattered army proceeded, and fortunately fell in with us while we were in our dilemma about the boats.

27th.—We all proceeded up the river, and at about 3 found the boats and immediately began to embark, and was not complete till 10. We halted at a village on the opposite side, and refreshed till five, and marched about six kos and halted on the road for the remainder of the night. Most of the boats proceeded up the river with the wounded Europeans, Lady Hope* Howitt, Doctors Fullarton and Anderson, *cum multis aliis*.

28th.—At daybreak we marched about one kos and reached a village, where we halted and refreshed till 3. We found in the Faujdar's house a tent and a camel, which we used the freedom to carry along with us, and some carriage bullocks. We marched about five kos and found our boats at this village and halted for the night.

29th.—At half-past 2 this morning we marched, and our

* The wife of Lieutenant Sir William Hope who was killed in the massacre. Dr. Anderson refers to her in his diary, and says that she and some other women were said to have been brought to Monghyr. Further on, he mentions a rumour that she had arrived at the Dutch Factory. Hope probably belonged to the Craighall and Pinkie family.

boats proceeded up. We reached Chapra about 8. A few of us stopped at our Factory-house, and found about three dozen of different liquors, which was a most agreeable acquisition, as we had not brought a drop along with us ; found also some turkeys and other poultry. We proceeded on about a kos further and halted in a tope, and sent out and got some bullocks and rice for our people. We were alarmed and under arms, two, three, different times that a party of horse was near us. We understood that the Faujdar, one Ramnidi, had collected about 1,000 troops and 200 horse. We marched at 4, and halted at a tope about four kos from hence. Captain Turner, who had the rear guard, informed us that just as he left the ground a party of the enemy's horse took possession of it, which made us keep a good look-out all night. We had intelligence from our boats that they were pursued by some of the enemy from the Bhojpur side, and that they had taken two of the small boats ; indeed, two sepoys that were wounded in the fray came to us, which made us very anxious about them, as they had both our treasure and ammunition ; but, notwithstanding, we did not endeavour to join them this evening, which proved afterwards very unfortunate.

30/z.—We had no alarm all night ; marched at 3 ; scarcely could find anybody to be our guide, as our chief harkaras and servants had mostly left us ; our intention was to get at our boats. We crossed a nullah which was betwixt us and the river Dahwa, and marched betwixt them. About 7 o'clock we spy'd, about a kos ahead, a stand of red colours, which we took to be some *chauki*, but upon coming nearer we found there were about 50 men with them. Immediately Captain Tabby's battalion stretched to the right to get betwixt them and the nullah, but they took to the nullah, and most of them were drowned ; two or three we took prisoners, but could learn nothing from them : here we proposed halting till we brought up our rear, as we were within a kos of the place of our intended embarkation ; but presently we heard a firing in the rear, and upon examining we found the enemy advancing ; immediately the rear got up, and we beat to arms and marched back to meet the enemy ; they appeared to be about 2,000 and 200 horse : our men seemed in good spirits, and marched on very eagerly, and on the first onset the enemy were broke and took to their heels. We pursued them about a kos, and burnt two small villages in the way to dislodge them in case any were there ; they took to the topes, and we made a halt. We reckoned we killed about 200. During our stay we had intelligence from the boats that the current was so strong, that they could not track up to the place intended, so it was agreed they should come down to the

end of the island ; it divides the river (Dahwa) here into two branches, which was almost opposite to us : accordingly that advice was sent to them. About 2 in the afternoon the enemy from the tope began to fire upon a party of our sepoys that was in a small tope nigh them with a 2-pounder, but we imagined it was covering their retreat ; but at about 3 we were undeceived, for they began to draw out of the tope, and began a pretty brisk canhonade, that we were obliged to call in the party of sepoys that was nigh them, and presently they began to fire from the opposite side of the nullah, and a stand of Armenian colours was set up there, which made us understand that they had been joined by one Somroo (an Armenian), who commanded in the Bhojpur country. We got under arms, and waited to see whether they would advance, but they kept their ground and continued their cannonade most of the afternoon. In the evening Mr. Ellis, &c., with the principal officers, held a council of war to see what was the most prudent step to be taken, the purport of which I understood to be that we ought to be upon the defensive, as our principal design was to cover our boats, and that it would be time enough to fight when we had them with us ; accordingly it was resolved to keep our ground all night and march at 2 in the morning to join our boats and embark.

July 1st.—At 2 we marched, stretching down the side of the river till we came to the end of the island, and halted. At break of day, we saw some of our boats coming round the island ; it was agreed to embark the sepoy women and baggage first to the island. About 6 we spy'd the enemy marching out of the tope, making their front towards us ; the nullah was then betwixt us and them. Our embarkation began about 7, and to our great surprise found numbers of sepoys wanted to go off with the baggage, and with great difficulty could restrain them ; presently the enemy began to cannonade, and kept up a very brisk one with at least five or six pieces of cannon, but did no mischief the first two hours. We got our howitzer ashore, which was in one of the boats, and about 30 rounds of grape. Our resolution was to keep our ground on the bank of the river till evening, and if they advanced, then to give them a brisk attack, as we had not ammunition to risk two attacks. About 10 our Chief thought he was of no use on the side of the river that the cannonade was ; accordingly he set off for the island, and his fourth in Council about an hour before him. I and some of the civilians soon followed the Chief. About 11 we had the disagreeable news of poor Carstairs being mortally wounded ; he was soon afterwards brought over, and upon dressing him I found his wound to be mortal ; he was brought aboard Captain Wilson's bajra, and

begged of me that I would not leave him. The enemy kept advancing slowly towards us, keeping up at the same time a brisk cannonade ; wounded a few of our people. We mustered about 100 sepoys upon the island and sent over to them, and remained on our ground. About six in the evening the enemy had come across the nullah, almost within random (?) shot, and about half an hour afterwards came to engage our left wing, which was composed of Captain Turner's battalion, and they gave them a very warm reception, which gave us a great expectation that so soon as they engaged our Europeans they would be soon broke ; but we were greatly alarmed to find that there was no regular fire afterwards, and presently we were informed by some officers and Europeans that swam over that we were entirely routed. Captain Wilson and us that was in the bajra thought it prudent to haul off from the shore, as it was impossible to keep the sepoys and rabble from filling the boat, which we accordingly did, and afterwards thought we could be of no further service ; wherefore we resolved to proceed down the river and deliver ourselves up, as we had got aboard as many people as our boats could well carry, and immediately set out, having aboard eight Europeans, a number of sepoy women and sepoys ; met with no interruption all night, but very dismal thoughts.

2nd.—Before break of day we were at a great loss whether we should not go ashore before daylight, as we thought there was a greater probability of meeting the people more humane some distance from the river ; but a boy of Captain Turner's said that we had best proceed down the river as far as we could, and if we met with any interruption, we had only to say we were going to the Nawab, which advice we thought very prudent, and accordingly pursued it. We met no interruption till about 7 o'clock, when a boat boarded us : by giving them Rs. 30 and acquainting them we were going to the Nawab, they went off. About 8 a party of sepoys going up the river hailed us, and fired a shot or two at us, but we proceeded on and they left us ; we then resolved to go to Hajipore and deliver ourselves up to the Faujdar (being a relation of Mir Abdulla's), thinking the populace at Patna might be too much irritated still, and not so safe for us ; accordingly, we arrived at Hajipore river. About 12 sent a servant ashore to the Faujdar to acquaint him we were come to deliver ourselves up ; he soon returned with some of the principal people, and acquainted us that the Faujdar was then at Patna, but he had a son, who acted in his absence. We were conducted very civilly by these people to him, and he received us very kindly, and after taking our leave sent us refreshment. Carstairs continues to grow worse every hour.

3rd.—The Faujdar arrived from Patna last night ; sent for Captain Wilson ; continues to behave himself very kindly ; sent a standing cot for Captain Carstairs, and appointed a house for his being ashore, as his wounds began to mortify and very offensive to us in the boat ; prevailed upon him to go ashore about 12 ; at 3 he died. We applied for a coffin and bildars to make a grave ; they were soon furnished, and we interred the corpse about 6, in the most decent manner we could. This evening we received a chit from Fullarton, who had delivered himself up to the Nawab at Patna ; he acquainted us that he was most genteelly treated, and advised us to come over. We were then informed by the Faujdar that there was an order for going to Patna, which was agreeable to us.

4th.—This morning we were in great expectations of the Faujdar's coming to carry us to Patna, but we heard nothing of him till about 3, when his son arrived to take an inventory of all our *chizbast* (goods and chattels). We were a little uneasy to find we did not go to Patna this evening, but we were assured that he would be with us in the morning to carry us over.

5th.—At 8 the Faujdar came down and set off with us. We arrived about 11 opposite to our Factory, when we were hailed by the sepoys to bring to : there the Faujdar asked us whether we chose to go (Markar, an Armenian, commanded them), but we insisted on going to the Nawab : it seems they are obliged to carry us to the highest in command if we choose it ; the Faujdar left it to our choice. Accordingly, we proceeded, and soon after our arrival, were brought up from the boats, guarded by a party of sepoys, to the darbar in the qila ; was very genteelly received by the Governor. Upon breaking up of the darbar had a very good dinner served us up ; presently afterwards were shown to our apartments, which were under the care of a near relation of the Governor, who entertained us in the most obliging, complaisant manner imaginable ; the most minute necessary that we might want he did not forget. In the evening he invited us to his own apartment, and treated us with very good arrack and a hooka. Just before supper we were informed that an order was arrived for our setting out for Monghyr, and we were ordered to get ourselves in readiness to set off directly, which gave us great uneasiness, as we were very fatigued, but by the intercession of our friend who kept us, it was put off till morning.

6th.—About 6 o'clock our things were sent into the boats and we set off about 7 in our bajra and two guard-boats with 50 gun-men ; were conducted to the water-side by our friend. At first setting off our guard seemed as if they would be very troublesome by lashing their boats on each side of our bajra and fastening the windows ; the Governor sent us a

dressed kid, bread, &c., for our voyage. We reached this evening Barh.

7th.—Set off at break of day. Our guard was more complaisant than before ; our entertainment to-day was rice, dalt and ghee, which they say makes very good khichree. We reached this evening Nawabgunge ; our guard hauls alongside of us and shuts our windows.

8th.—Set off early as usual ; got in sight of Monghyr about 10, abreast of the Fort at 12, but a squall coming off sent us past it, so that we could not track up again till 5 ; were in expectation of some officer to come and examine us, but to our surprise nobody enquired after us, but a dirty scoundrel of a German, a deserter from us, whom curiosity had induced to come and see who we were ; this evening my servant (named Nimu) ran away with Rupces 30 of mine, some combs, &c.

9th.—All this day, to our great surprise, we heard nothing from the Nawab, nor any of his officers, which we could not comprehend the reason of. We furnished ourselves with provisions, &c., from the bazar.

10th.—Still lying in our bajra ; in the afternoon our boy from the bazar acquaints us that the harkara told him that he had got the Nawab's parwana for our returning to Patna ; in the evening it was confirmed.

11th.—This morning no appearance of our setting off, which surprised us. In the afternoon we received a chit from Harris and Johnstone acquainting us that they were confined in the Fort in a dirty house and very indifferently treated ; allowed half a seer of rice per man a day. We endeavoured to write them an answer and send them some money, but could not find their servant afterwards. About 7 the harkara arrives with five or six dandys or rather coolies, to carry us up, but our jemadar sent one of his people, and pressed about a dozen of tolerable dandys.

12th.—Upon getting up this morning I was greatly alarmed with a violent pain in the instep of my foot ; could attribute no cause for it, unless it was Doctor Anderson's head, who lay just by my feet : as it is pretty heavy, it was generally believed to be the cause, by laying upon it. About 10 our dandys were all on board and we set off ; got up by evening about six kos ; the pain of my instep increased to a violent degree, and before evening was fully satisfied that it was not owing to Dr. Anderson's head, but rather appeared to be a touch of the gout, which I am very sorry for.

13th.—We got under weigh early ; reached within a kos of Rahua Nala by evening ; the violent pain of my foot still continues, which puts it past all doubt that it is the gout ;

spoke to some of our soldiers who are marching down and have taken service with the Nawab ; they informed us that 100 and upwards had taken service ; they also informed us that Mr. Ellis and all the officers were sent down to Monghyr, which surprises us the more that we are sent up again ; they say also there were only two officers killed, Ensigns Pickering and Crofts.

14th.—Nothing remarkable to-day ; we advanced about five kos ; numbers of the Nawab's sepoys and troops on the road going down, also several of ours taken service.

15th.—Got under weigh early ; advanced by evening as far as Mor,* within two kos of Punarak ; my foot a good deal easier ; nothing remarkable ; a scarcity of provisions.

16th.—Got under weigh as usual ; advanced by evening as far as Barh. We feasted to-day on rice, dall and ghee.

17th.—Nothing remarkable all this day ; had a fine breeze ; advanced by evening within a kos of Jaffir Khan's garden.

18th.—Arrived at Patna by 10 ; soon afterwards Captain Wilson was sent for ashore. About 12 we were all sent for ; understood that the Governor was at the west gate. We were received by the Dewan ; were kept in a sort of darbar place, immensely close and hot ; had dinner brought us. The Governor did not come in till about 6 ; an hour afterwards he sent for us, received us very politely, and made us understand we should have every indulgence in his power. He assured us that we should have a much more airy and retired apartment than what we were in at present, and provided us with the Dewan's bungalow for the night, which was very cool and pleasant ; he at the same time acquainted us, he believed the reason of our being sent up here again was owing to the letter he wrote to the Nawab, wherein he mentioned to him if he had not convenience at Monghyr, he begged he would return us to him.

19th.—Early in the morning we were brought down from the bungalow to our old apartment, but as we were in hourly expectation of being removed to a proper place allotted to us, we thought nothing of it. About 10, in one end of the room where we were, a fire was lighted, which had almost suffocated us with heat and smoke ; it was to dress the Dewan's victuals ; as he is a Gentoo, he can't dress in any of the Moormen's cook-rooms. Upon our complaining, they assured us it should be done no more. We passed this day very disagreeably, no order for bringing our things from the bajra, nor any other place appointed us ; the cause we understood to be the Dewan's being affronted at our laying in his bungalow the last night.

* Mor Manamath is a village on the road from Patna to Monghyr, and is 5 miles east of Punarak.

We got a few bottles of wine from the Dutch Factory, but our guard understanding it, insisted upon seizing them, which they accordingly did to the great mortification of some of our messmates. We found we could have no admittance to the Governor this night, and resolved to bear everything patiently.

20th.—We passed a very disagreeable night from the intense heat, but we comforted ourselves that we should be removed soon; passed the day as before, but to our surprise no order for our removal; can't know the cause; resolved to bear everything with patience till we can see the Governor. In the evening our jemadar told us we might lay in the yard if it was too hot; we chose the verandah if he would move his guard hence, which was done. We had a more agreeable night than the former; our guard consisted of a jemadar, about 20 gun-men and two sepoys, with sword and bayonet.

21st.—We passed the last night more comfortably than the former, as it was tolerably cool, and not so much pestered with bugs. We now gave over expectations of seeing the Governor, and were satisfied we should have no remove; got a pack of carus, and amused ourselves with a game at whist; much troubled with flies, and the time hangs very heavy. We are to lay in the verandah as before; had all our baggage from the bajra, and find that our boys have stolen Rupees 138; are afraid to deliver them up to justice, upon account of the transaction at Hajipore; allowed two of them to go away, whom we judge to be guilty.

22nd.—Passed the night tolerably well; find it impossible to be allowed any wine or spirits; they kept five bottles in their possession, which we got the first day from the Dutch Factory. About 4 in the afternoon we were acquainted that we were to be moved to another place, and immediately orders came for our removal, which was very agreeable to us. We all set out, and were much surprised when they brought us out of the qila through the street, a spectacle to the whole populace, about the distance of half a mile; landed us at last in a square, where the first objects that presented us were two or three in irons, in our situation no agreeable sight to be sure. We were shown our room, which had been a store-house, and cleared out this day for our reception, full of rats, and the floor dug or burrowed with fifty of their holes. I retired into it, and layed myself down in one of the corners to be free from the gazing of our new companions who were in irons, and found a small window where I could peep through, and contemplated upon our sad situation; began to wish we were in our old apartments again, but at last concluded that everything was for the best (in this best of

possible worlds, as Mr. Candid* observes), and so comforted ourselves ; presently our *chibbast* arrives, and to our great comfort, none of our guard, as they had turned very impudent and disagreeable. We found this place to be the prison for State prisoners, and that there were confined here Ramnarain's family and all his dependants, which was some relief to find our companions were no worse sort of people. We had the liberty to walk about in the square without anybody attending us, and find ourselves much more retired than before, as our guard here was principally stationed at the gates. We were now sensible that the fine speeches the Governor made us were from motives of true Eastern policy.

23rd.—We had a very agreeable night, and began to like our prison much better than our former apartments ; passed the day very agreeably ; sent out and purchased victuals for ourselves ; sent in the evening to the qila to know whether we were to expect entertainment from hence or not ; were given to understand that we must provide ourselves in everything we wanted ; have visits from some of our fellow-prisoners, whom we find to be very sensible men, and who condole with us in our present situation.

24th.—Had a pleasant night, and find our new habitation quite retired and as agreeable as we could expect ; have employed tailors to make us some banians, shirts, &c. ; had a leg of roast mutton, and currie, steaks, &c., for dinner, and a draught of good cool *sherbet* to wash it down : we were a little alarmed about 5 with our keeper and guard taking out four or five irons, thinking they might be for our use, as he gave us a small hint the night before in a joke how we should like them ; but we soon found they were only examining them to see if they were in good order.

25th.—Passed the night as usual ; nothing remarkable to-day further than that our man Nicolo smuggled a bottle of Dutch liquor, which was very acceptable ; he got in also this evening two bottles gin.

26th.—Nothing remarkable to-day.

27th.—Passed our time as usual ; Nicolo continues to smuggle a little gin successfully.

28th.—To-day we were informed by our jemadar that he had orders for us to send our boys to the Governor for victuals ; nothing remarkable.

29th.—Early one of our boys went to the Governor for breakfast, but was told there were no orders. We did not provide anything for dinner, expecting orders would be given by that time, but to our great disappointment we found our mistake,

and were obliged to send out to the bazar for what we could get ; dined at about 4 ; we dispatched a letter down to the Governor, or Commanding Officer.

30th.—We resolved to send Mr. Nicolo to the darbar to the Governor ; accordingly he set out without our jemadar, and acquainted him we should be glad he would order us an allowance in money for victualling ourselves, and he granted us Rupees 4 per day ; likewise we demanded leave for some liquor ; he allowed us to purchase and use two or three bottles per day ; we are to sign a receipt daily for our money. We had intelligence a few days ago of our army being at Katwa, and of having had an engagement with the troops belonging to Muxadabad, and had gained a complete victory, having killed several of their principal jemadars.

31st.—Very heavy rains for these two days. Our former cook has left us, which would have distressed us much, had it not been for Ensign McKey, who has a thorough knowledge in cookery, and has officiated in that office, greatly to our satisfaction, for these two days. We have provided ourselves with another cook. Don Nicolo purchased a case of gin from the Dutch Snout's Scraper* for Rupees 50. We propose bringing in two or three bottles at a time according to our allowance, as it comes much cheaper by being bought in quantity ; the Snout's Scraper being a great Jew, he also sold two knives and forks and two cups and saucers for the small price of Rupees 4. Don Nicolo, being a great politician, brought us from the Dutch Factory news that might be depended upon, that our main army has not marched from Calcutta, but that was only a party that was at Katwa, and that they had a second engagement at Plassey with the principal force from Muxadabad, and that the former was only a skirmish with a small party of theirs ; that our party was surrounded by numbers of their troops and every man put to the sword ; disagreeable news enough.

August 1st.—Disagreeable conjecture about the situation of our affairs in general, and no very favourable ones about our head managers in particular. A particular friend who favours us with a little intelligence informed us to-day that our affairs below went on very prosperously ; that our whole force has come up, and that a second encounter had happened near the lower capital, and that we had completely routed their whole force, having killed in this engagement their principal Commander and obtained everything : this news we have very good authority for, which oversets our friend Don Nicolo's entirely. Mar-kar has proceeded down within eight kos of the capital. We

expect to have news of him very soon. His Excellency keeps fast in Monghyre Qu. whether he ever will go out of it; I hope not till we fetch him: so much for politics.

2nd.—This night we were very much disturbed by bugs, and much infested with flies in the day. The former news we have confirmed, with the addition of Meer Jaffir being for certain with our army, and that we are in possession of the capital, and that the Governor of it is since dead of his wounds. We are also informed that Markar has stopped at Suti and can advance no further.

3rd.—Our news is more and more confirmed, and that Gregory Khan is getting out from Monghyr to join Markar. We daily expect of hearing of a decisive stroke being made. Dr. Anderson was a little out of humour to-day, and did not eat his dinner as usual, owing to a mistake made in describing a house that he and some gentlemen built at Neg—s (that they had built a house without any dimensions); he is nearly related to my countrymen, I believe, for he seems to have established a maxim that its not right to give up a point.

4th.—Nothing material to-day, save Dr. Anderson was highly offended with me at dinner for wanting to drink out of the cup before he had finished what he called his allowance of gin.

5th.—A very fine day, but furnishes nothing remarkable in the public or private way.

6th.—No news these two or three days, which makes us very anxious; this being a Saturday, we commemorated the evening with a couple bottles of *lall*.

7th.—Don Nicolo has picked up a piece of intelligence which we can give little credit to, that our troops have had an engagement with Markar, the Armenian; that they had gained a complete victory, Samru, one of their commanders, killed, and that Markar has joined us with a thousand men, but this is only bazar gup.

8th.—The above news still prevails, but no authority still. To-day the Governor stopt in here to see if there was room for some of our prisoners that they were sending up from Monghyr; he did not speak to us; they are put in an apartment in the Chelsea Town.* They were taken at Cossimbazar; they are 23 in number, all in irons, amongst whom are Mr. Bennett and one Thompson, who was in Mr. McGuire's employ.

9th.—We had a line from Mr. Bennett, acquainting us that he was destitute of every necessary; we sent him Rupees 20: they confirm the news of Mr. Amyatt's being cut off with seven officers. We have a report that His Excellency at the lower capital has been endeavouring to bribe the two commanders

* Chahalsatun (the house of the 40 pillars.)

below, and that they have sent him word to send some people of his of consequence, and they would treat with him. We are assuredly informed of Jagat Seth being confined close prisoner at Monghyr. Don Nicolo's last news is fully contradicted ; our army is said to be 8 kos this side Muxadabad. We daily expect to hear something of consequence.

• 10th.—Nothing remarkable to-day.

11th.—This morning I had a line from the soldiers, they prove to be mostly belonging to the party that Mr. Amyatt had with him ; we sent them Rupees 34. Soon afterwards Messrs. Bennett and Thompson were brought here to be confined along with us ; they give us a particular account of Mr. Amyatt, &c., being cut off : the Naib came along with them and behaved very politely ; he told us he was to set out for Monghyr soon. We have this day an account that Markar has met with a complete overthrow, but we are somewhat incredulous of it ; but the news is fully general.

12th.—Last night our old friend was told that he must not sit so often with us ; am afraid we shall lose his company ; he seems to give credit to the former news ; this evening our jemadar confirmed it, with the additional circumstances of Markar being killed and Samru wounded, also that the Nawab is come out from Monghyr, as is imagined, to go down and try his fate once more ; his wife and family are on their way here.

13th.—The former news still prevails, which gives us great reason to think that it is true : we shall be soon out of doubts. Our friend had a servant from Bhagulpore, which confirms the former news.

14th.—We have nothing new to-day, but additional circumstances of the former battle. Our servant in bringing in six bottles of wine was stopped by the fellow at the gate, and was not allowed to bring it in, and informs us we can't have any more without a fresh order from our new Governor.

15th.—No account of our army's advancing. We learn the Nawab has got to Bhagulpore, and daily expect to hear something decisive. Our old friend has received a flying report that Ramnarain and Roy Ballabh are both cut off ; we hope it will prove without foundation.

16th.—The news of the two former being cut off prevails, with the additional circumstances that Messrs. Ellis and Lushington are also, likewise three harkaras, which makes us apprehensive that there is some truth in it, and that they have been found out in some correspondence.

*Copy of Mr. Fullarton's Narrative of the Proceedings at Patna,
drawn up by order of Council.*

(RECEIVED AND READ IN COUNCIL THE 19TH DECEMBER 1763.)

FROM the 17th of the month of June preparations of war were carried on with great vigour on both sides. Mehndi Ali Khan, who governed the city, was employed in repairing the ramparts, clearing the ditch, and posting troops on the walls; and doubling all the guards to the westward of the city. The Factory walls were likewise repaired, the ditch was cleared, and two 24-pounders were mounted; the terrace top of the Factory house, which was all round fortified with sand-bags, and two 3-pounders were mounted there. About 10 o'clock at night of the 24th June, Mr. Ellis sent for me from the hospital, and ordered that the sick might be embarked in boats and carried over to the sand opposite to the city, and from thence tracked up and crossed over to the Factory. My orders were to embark exactly at 2 o'clock in the morning (that being the hour appointed for the attack of the city), which was accordingly executed, and with the sick, which consisted of 23 Europeans, got safe to the Factory about 9 o'clock in the morning. At half an hour before one, the troops under the command of Captain Carstairs marched from the cantonments in two divisions; and Captain Carstairs having sent 50 sepoys, 25 to each of the grand roads at 11 the night of the 24th June, to take everybody that might pass that way till the arrival of the troops, they took 50 prisoners, great many of whom were harkaras, by which means they had not the least intelligence in the city; the first commanded by Captain Carstairs, consisting of 150 Europeans, Captain Tabby's battalion of sepoys, and five companies of Captain Wilson's; the second division consisted of 50 Europeans, Captain Turner's battalion of sepoys and two guns; the first division, with the scaling ladders, came down the great western road; the second came through the town right down to the west gate, and there remained under cover. The first division planted their ladders near the south-west bastion of the city; they mounted and got in with little opposition and little loss; they marched down along the walls to the west gate, which they opened (our guns and small arms keeping a constant fire from the Factory upon the city), and the second division and guns came in. Lieutenant Downie, who commanded in the Factory with three companies of sepoys, a little after our troops had got the possession of the west gate, stormed the Barbanna gate, got in with little loss and marched to the qila, partly by the river side, partly by lanes near the river. Captain Tabby with his battalion went round the walls and drove the enemy from them, posting his

own guards as he went, and came to the east gate : by the time both our divisions had got into the city, Mirza Mehndi Ali Khan, the Governor, had intelligence of it, and collected a body of horse and gun-men, and marching down the main street, he met Captain Carstairs with Captain Turner's sepoy-s, Europeans, and guns. He lined the street and filled the lanes and the tops of the houses of both sides. Captain Parry and Lieutenant McDowall were both killed, Captains Joecher and Wilson were wounded, and 30 Europeans killed and wounded, with a number of sepoy-s. But our grape and musketry were so warm that they retired, and Mehndi Ali Khan, with the rest of the commanders, went out by the east gate of the city and took the road towards Fatwa. Our troops marched to the east gate after them, and there met Captain Tabby, who had just arrived, having come round the walls. The east gate was immediately shut, the bridge leading into it broke down, and the sepoy-s sent along the qila walls down to the river side and took possession of the only gate remaining in the hands of the enemy, called the water-gate. After this, several messages passed between Captain Carstairs and Mr. Ellis, and everything seemed to be over. About 9 o'clock Carstairs came to the Factory with several of the officers. At 10 we heard firing in the qila, and the gentlemen went to the fort ; the firing continued and increased. One Lal Singh, a jemadar of foot, who had his women in a house in the qila, did not choose to leave them, so retired into his house with 30 men, and there remained quiet till some of our sepoy-s began to plunder his houses ; he then in defence of his women drove them out ; there were likewise about 200 men who secreted themselves in a large house near the qila, called Chahalsatun. Lal Singh, after having driven the sepoy-s from his house, fired on the sentries that were posted on the walls of the qila near his house, and sent a message to Mehndi Ali Khan, who with the rest of the principal commanders had got the length of Fatwa bridge, that if he could return, he would be able, with his assistance, to drive the English out of the city. Mehndi Ali Khan met at Fatwa with Alum Khan, 100 horse, 20 camels loaded with fire arrows sent from Monghyr for his garrison, just at the time of his receiving Lal Singh's message. He immediately returned, and by the way picked up about 1,000 horse and foot that were flying from the city. At the same time that Lal Singh sent to Mehndi Ali Khan, he sent likewise to the Chelsetoon, and told those men that were there that he had still defended part of the qila and desired their assistance. About 50 of them came to him by a small passage from the Chelsetoon to the qila, and there they defended themselves till near 12 o'clock, when Mehndi Ali Khan arrived. About this

time our sepoyes were employed in plundering the town, and little order or obedience to their officers was observed, nor could a sufficient body of them be got together to make a stand, so that Mehndi Ali Khan met with little resistance in driving all our troops out of the city. As our people went along, they met with enemies everywhere. The sepoyes, who had concealed themselves in the different houses upon hearing the Naib's return, sallied out everywhere and fired on them, so that at about 3 o'clock they arrived at the Factory in the utmost confusion, having lost in the retreat Lieutenant Reid of the Artillery, Lieutenant Downie of the sepoyes, killed, and Lieutenant Parry wounded. Several attempts were made by the officers to rally both the sepoyes and Europeans, but to no purpose : it was generally imagined that great part of the sepoyes were gone off with what plunder they had got, and that night at a muster there were only about 170 Europeans and 1,200 sepoyes to be found. The confusion of such a number of troops with the sick and wounded in so small a place as the Factory must be easily imagined, and that evening about sunset the city was strongly reinforced by Markar with 1,500 sepoyes and two guns and some horse, who that night began to ply us with musketry from the walls and cannonading the Factory from the west gate. Messrs. Greentree and Pickering were called in from the cantonments, where they had been left with 200 new sepoyes. On the 26th, in the morning, the fire from the city increased and the confusion with us was greater. Early in the morning Mr. Ellis sent for me, and ordered me to go over to the sand opposite to the Factory with 50 sepoyes and collect all the boats I could get. The fire was very warm both from the factory and the city all that day. About 12 o'clock I was ordered to proceed with what boats I had collected to Pahleza Ghât, about three kos up the river, and there to remain for further orders. At 3 in the afternoon I was ordered to get the boats ready for transporting the troops over into the Sarkar Sarun country as soon as possible. At 10 at night they arrived, in number about 170 Europeans and 1,200 sepoyes with a howitzer. Our troops, on their leaving the Factory, set fire to the Gunje and all the large betel-nut bungalows near the Factory to hinder the enemy's approach, and an officer with 30 Europeans remained in the Factory half an hour after the main body marched off to bring up the rear with the baggage. But the fire from the city was so warm that the coolies and lascars threw most part of the ammunition down and deserted, so that only seven barrels of musket ammunition were saved, and the sepoyes and Europeans had only 12 rounds a man. About daylight in the morning the troops got all to the other side the river, and were oblige o halt there for Mr. Lushington,

who had embarked from the Factory with the Company's treasure in small pulwars. He arrived at 10 o'clock with only the loss of one boat, which was sunk by the enemy's shot at the Factory ghat.

The 27th.—A little before sunset we marched from Pahleza to Raipati, being four kos, where the army got no provisions but a little rice, the country people being afraid to supply us on account of the Faujdar's (Ram Nidi) being in arms to oppose us. Mr. Ellis. ordered me to take charge of the treasure with all the boats, and allotted for their guard one company of sepoys ; the boats had a fine wind and sailed all night.

The 28th.—The boats were fired at from the Bhojpur side of the country by Shimroo, who was then preparing to cross the river to attack us. No news of the troops till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at Chirand where the boats lay for them ; they had rested the night of the 27th at Raipati, being four kos from Pahleza and from Raipati to Chirand were five.

The 29th.—The army proceeded to Ajaibganj ; they were discontented for want of provisions the day before : this being a village of the Company's, they got some rice ; the boats were this morning, before the troops marched, reinforced by Lieutenant Armstrong with another company of sepoys. We had news that Nidiram was coming to fight with us with 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot.

The 30th.—We marched from Ajaibganj to Maripura, five kos. The boats came up within a kos of the camp into the Dahwa river, but it was with great difficulty, we being obliged to track. Nidiram came and was defeated, with no loss on our side, but about 200 of his men killed. This day a boat that fell in the rear was taken ; a havildar and eight sepoys were in it, three of them were killed, the rest joined, but without their arms. Nidiram went towards Chapra, a few kos, where he met Shimroo with three battalions of sepoys and eight pieces of cannon, and a large body of horse sent from Patna after us. Shimroo made Nidiram return, but we had no intelligence of them : our harkaras had all deserted, and none of the country people would come near us.

July 1st.—The army came to the banks of the Dahwa, a kos from where they lay at Maripura ; the Dahwa formed three streams at this place, our boats got into the middle one, and could not pass through for want of water ; they were half a mile from the army, and were ordered down to the place where the three streams met ; the army likewise moved this morning, and in marching off, the picket of 100 sepoys lost their way and had a warm scuffle with part of Shimroo's guards. Only the Subahdar and 35 sepoys with the colours got to us. About

8 o'clock we were surrounded by Shimroo with three battalions of sepoys, eight pieces of cannon, a body of about 10,000 horse and foot, Nidiram included ; two of Shimroo's battalions had Europe arms, and one country matchlocks. On their approach orders were sent for the 200 sepoys (that had been left to guard the boats) to join us. We got the howitzer landed and prepared to receive them ; they came within 800 yards and began to cannonade us. There was a nullah about 500 yards in our front, but little water in it, and a small bank in the front of our line, behind which we were drawn up. The enemy did not seem much inclinable to attack us, but kept a brisk fire from their artillery and jinjalls. About 10 o'clock it was determined that we should attack them, and Mr. Ellis being much fatigued and somewhat out of order, came down to the boats and ordered some liquor to be sent up to the men. A little after this Captain Carstairs was mortally wounded with a jinjall ball, and the command devolved on Captain Tabby. Our people were not allowed to fire on account of the great scarcity of ammunition, and the enemy began to come near and nearer, but very slowly. At 3 in the afternoon a company of their sepoys came down to the banks of the nullah and lay behind them, and kept a warm fire of musketry on us ; they all after this moved down by degrees, and used to stop the cannon and fire, and then moved again. Our troops were much fatigued for want of provisions, &c., and being exposed to a warm fire all day. About half an hour after sunset the firing increased, and they began to ply us with musketry, crossed the nullah, and attacked us on all sides. About 8 at night the Europeans broke and fled ; the sepoys stood their ground, keeping a warm fire upon the enemy till all their ammunition was expended when they likewise gave way. Lieutenants Pickering and Crofts, both of the sepoys, were killed, and the rest of the gentlemen that were in the field were taken either that night or next morning. The boats where Mr. Ellis was, finding the fire cease, and some of the officers that could swim, crossed the branch of the river (for the boats lay on an island) opposite to where the action was, pushed off, and got into the river. Messrs. Ellis, Howitt, and Smith, with Captain Joecher, thought proper to write to Nidiram to send some of his people to conduct them to Patna to Mehndi Ali Khan, and it was likewise determined that Mr. Ellis should write to Mehndi Ali Khan, desiring that he should send orders for conducting him and the gentlemen safe there. About 10 at night I was sent with a letter to Mehndi Ali Khan in a small dingee, and got down to Patna about 12 next morning, the 2nd July. I sent immediately to the Naib to let him know what I was come for ; he sent for me, and

used me very well, sending an order to Nidiram to conduct the gentlemen safe to him ; but before that could arrive, they were all taken by Shimroo that morning. About 10 I was kept close prisoner in the qila, and at night the Naib came and desired me to write a chit to some gentlemen that were come in a bajra to Hajipore to come to him, as they might be ill-used by the country people, which I did ; they came two days after and were sent immediately to Monghyr, but were sent back again and kept in the Chahalsatun. They had buried Captain Carstairs, who died of his wound in his bajra. These gentlemen were Captain Wilson, Lieutenant Armstrong, Ensign Mackay, Mr. Anderson, Surgeon, and Mr. Peter Campbell, and two soldiers.

July 6th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were brought to Patna. I petitioned the Naib to be sent to them, or be suffered to see them, both which were refused.

The 8th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were sent to Monghyr and there confined ; there was 45,000 of the Company's cash on board the bajra when Mr. Ellis was taken and some plate which was given to him, but in the care of some of the Nawab's people to be given him when he wanted it ; some time it remained with Khwaja Petrus, afterwards with Mahomed Amin Khan.

The 16th.—I was sent down to Monghyr, and there confined separately from the rest of the gentlemen. As I afterwards understood, they were all well used, though strictly confined. We had victuals sent us by the Nawab regularly twice a day.

August 10th.—The Nawab left Monghyr, and the fort was left in charge of Mahomed Khan ; he treated us with the greatest lenity to appearance, and pretended to carry on a treaty with Mr. Ellis, but it was all a sham, for he never was in earnest. I was allowed to see the gentlemen on account of Captain Turner's being ill, who afterwards died of a flux.

September 13th.—Mr. Ellis and the rest of the gentlemen were sent from Monghyr ; Messrs. Ellis and Greentree were in palankeens ; Lushington, Smith, Lieutenant Bowen, Ensign McLeod, and one other gentleman whom I don't remember, were on horseback, the rest were in irons ; some in dooleys, and some in hackeries, and after their arrival at Patna, were confined in Haji Ahmed's house.

The 19th.—I was sent from Monghyr to Patna and confined alone in the qila.

October 5th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were inhumanly butchered by Somru who came that evening to the place with two companies of sepoyes (he had the day before sent for all the knives and forks from the gentlemen) ; he surrounded the house with his people and went into a little outer

square, and sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hay and Lushington, and with them came six other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces, and their bodies thrown into a well in the square and it filled up ; then the sepoys were sent into the large square and fired on the gentlemen there, and rushing upon them, cut them into pieces in the most inhuman manner, and they were thrown into another well, which was likewise filled up.*

The 7th.—The Nawab sent for me and told me to get myself in readiness to go to Calcutta, for that he had been unlucky in the war, which, he asserted with great warmth, had not been of his seeking, nor had he been the aggressor, reproaching the English with want of fidelity and breach of treaty, but he said he had still hopes of an accommodation ; he asked me what I thought of it ; I told him I made no doubt of it. When some of his people then present mentioned the affair of Mr. Amyatt's death, he declared that he had never given any orders for killing Mr. Amyatt, but after receiving advice of Mr. Ellis's having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces wherever they could find them ; he likewise added that if a treaty was not set afoot, he would bring the King, the Mahrattas, and Abdulla against us, and so ruin our trade, &c. He had finished his letters, and ordered boats and a guard to conduct me, when upon the advice of some of his people, he stopped me and said there was no occasion for me to go. After his sending for me at first, he ordered the sepoys, in whose charge I was, to go to their quarters ; two Moguls and 12 harkaras to attend me, but to let me go about the city where I pleased. I then applied for to have liberty to stay at the Dutch Factory, which was granted. I applied to Mehndi Ali Khan for his interest on behalf of the gentlemen in the Chahalsatun, who were seven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of October ; but when he was petitioned about them, he

* George Forster, a Madras Civilian, visited the scene of the massacre in 1782. He writes, vol. i. 30, "Curiosity, and the desire of the moment to indulge a melancholy idea, led me to the spot where the English were massacred by the order of Cassum Ali. The former buildings are removed, and a well-proportioned monument has been erected in commemoration of that dreadful event, though without any inscription. Perhaps it had been consistent with sounder policy that no such memorial had been fixed ; but as it was judged expedient to record, thus publicly, an act of treacherous cruelty, the cause, I think, should have been explained."

If Mr. Forster had been writing now, he would probably have added that, if an inscription was judged expedient, it would have been well to have had it correct. There is an inscription now, but it contains about as many blunders as it has lines. The same traveller mentions in a note that Mir Qasim died at the village of Kutwall in 1777, and that when the Court seized on his estate, its value was computed to be one thousand pounds. It would appear then, that he did not die absolutely destitute.

gave no answer, but still sent orders to Sumro to cut them off. I likewise applied to Ali Ibrahim Khan to intercede for them, but he gave him no answer either, though I was present when Ibrahim Khan petitioned for them.

The 14th.—On the approach of our army, Cossim Ali decamped with his troops in great confusion, and marched as far as Phulwari, five kos to the westward of the city. The harkaras that were with me having no orders about me, I gave them some money which made them pretty easy.

The 25th.—After giving money to a jemadar that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch Factory by the river side, I set out in a small pulwar and got safe to the boats under command of Captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city on the other side of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the army under the command of Major Adams, laying in at Jutly.*

* Lieutenant Ferdinand Smith, in a little book published at Calcutta, and called a "Sketch of the rise, progress and termination of the irregular corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India," says that Sombre's real name was Walter Renard (qr. Reinhardt) that he was a native of Salzburg, and a butcher by profession. He had been a soldier in the French and a serjeant in the Company's armies, and acquired the nickname of Sombre from the sombre gloom of his mind and the frown of his features.

M. Raymond (Sair II, 195, note) tells us that when Samru was commanding at Baxar he had, as the chief man of the country, a right to a portion of the booty made by the famous bandits of the Bhojpur country, and that on one occasion he invited them to an entertainment before the fort of Baxar. When they came, he was exercising a regiment of tilangas, or sepoys, and "he at once made them load with ball, and falling at once with fixed bayonets upon those miscreants, he put them all to death, to the number of six hundred."

Gholam Hoosein describes Fullarton's escape as follows:—"The Doctor whilst those disputes were taking place at camp, was gone to the Dutch factory; where, having prevailed by dint of money, on the master of an old condemned boat to ferry him over to Hajipore, where there were some English troops, he got into that crazy vessel with Mirza Himmat Ali, his security, and put off from shore. On a sight of this, the guards appointed to prevent any boat from crossing over, or even from moving at all, made haste to embark in other boats, and they went in pursuit of her. But the Doctor was already in the middle of the river, where being spied by the English on the other side of the water, who saw distinctly a crazy boat endeavouring to make her escape, they threw themselves into some boats at hand, and flew to his assistance; so that the guards being intimidated by this appearance returned, and left the Doctor at liberty to land amongst his friends. The Nawab (Mir Qasim) hearing of this escape, ascribed the whole contrivance to Ali Ibrahim Khan (afterwards Hastings' Magistrate of Benares); but the times were not favourable for such an inquiry."

*List of persons who suffered in the Massacre at Patna and
at other places during the troubles.*

COVENANTED SERVANTS.

Mr.	Amyatt	...	... { Killed at Muxadabad. (Mur-shidabad.)
"	Ellis	...	... }
"	Hay	...	... }
"	Chambers	...	... }
"	Lushington	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	Howitt	...	... }
"	Lyon	...	... }
"	Oakes	...	... }
"	Smith	...	... }
"	Amphlett	...	... }
"	Bennett	...	... }
"	Wollaston	...	... } Killed at Muxadabad.
"	Gulston	...	... }
"	Eyton	...	... }
"	Lake	...	... }
"	Hutchinson	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna,
"	Round	...	... }
"	Collings	...	... }
"	Croke	...	... }

MILITARY.

Captain	Carstairs	...	... { Died of his wounds at the battle near Chapra.
"	Joecher	...	... }
"	Tabby	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	Kinch	...	... }
"	Turner	...	... } Died of a flux at Monghyr.
"	Wilson	...	... }
"	Parry	...	... }
"	Summers	...	... }
Lieutenant	Hope	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	MacDowall	...	... }
"	Downie	...	... }
"	Perry	...	... }
"	Roach	...	... }
"	Holland	...	... }
"	Pickering	...	... } Killed in the battle near Chapra.
"	Jones	...	... }
"	Cooper	...	... }
"	Gordon	...	... }
"	Spunned	...	... }
"	Stewart	...	... }
Ensign	Krafft	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	Blewitt, Senior	...	... }
"	Armstrong	...	... }
"	McKie	...	... }
"	Greentree	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	McLeod	...	... }
"	Crawford	...	... }
"	Blewitt, Junior	...	... }
Lt. Fireworkers—Hamilton	...	...	Ditto ditto.

MILITARY.—(Concluded.)

Lt. Fireworkers-	Parry	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	Bowen	...	... }
"	Reid	...	Killed in the assault of Patna.

SURGEONS.

Mr.	Crook	...	... } Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	Anderson	...	... }
"	Ham	...	Died at Monghyr.

• PRIVATE MERCHANTS.

Mr.	Campbell	...	... }
"	Harris	...	... }
"	Johnstone	...	... }
"	Plaice	...	... }
"	Folliott	...	Killed in the massacre at Patna.
"	West	...	... }
"	Howitt	...	... }
"	Albright	...	... }
"	Hailing	...	... }
"	Andrews	...	... }
"	Burslem	...	Killed at Rungpore.
Covenanted Servants		...	... 19
Military	...	...	... 32
Surgeons	...	...	... 3
Private Merchants	...	...	... 11
			— 65

Of which were killed in the massacre at Patna 51.*

I am indebted to Mr. Gordon, the Judge of Chapra, for the following note on the places mentioned in Dr. Fullarton's report :—

“ 1. *Pahleza* (spelt I believe by the natives *Pahleja*) *ghāt* is now on this or the Chupra side of the Ganges, where a village (now washed away) of that name once stood. The *ghāt* is a station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, about three miles from Sonepur, the present terminus, and 28 miles from Chupra, where passengers embark and disembark in crossing the river to and from Deegah *ghāt* on the Patna side of the river.

2. *Ropotti* (spelt as written *Rāipati*) is still in existence. It is a *tola* of, and adjoins the village of Digwara (*vide* map) on the south. Digwara is also a station on the Bombay and North-Western Railway, about 9 miles from Pahleja *ghāt*, 19 miles from Chupra.

3. *Chirund* is marked in the map of 1843-48

* Fullarton has been immortalised by the friendship of Ghulam Husein ; he appears to have taken an active part in politics, and to have been, on one occasion, dismissed from the service. I regret to find that Vansittart in one of his reports speaks very unfavourably of him. He had left the country when Ghulam Husein was writing his history in 1781, and the author expresses a friendly hope that wherever the Doctor may be, God will preserve to him his peace of mind.

Portions of Campbell, Anderson and Fullarton's narratives have been published by Mr. Wheeler in his Early Records of British India, pp. 320-327.

4. *Ajaibgunge* (spelt as written *Ajaibganj*) is still in existence. It is a hamlet situated about two miles south-west of Chapra near the road to Revelganj.

5. *Mainpore* (Mainpura in the map of 1843-48) is no longer in existence. I am told it has been washed away by the Ghagra, Gogra, or Dehuá. In the map of 1843-48, it is situated on a branch of the river Sundi or Dáhá, and some two miles from the bank of the Ghogra or Dehuá, which was apparently its position at the time of the battle referred to. An old resident of Manjhi informs me that the tradition is that three streams, *viz.*, the Ganges, Gogra, or Dehuá, and the Sundi or Dáhá met at a place named Kourundhouru, which is still in existence (not marked in the map), and is situated to the east of Manjhi Thanah, between Manjhi and the site of Mainpura or Manipore. Perhaps it was near this place that the battle was fought. The rivers Ganges and Gogra now meet at Chirand. The same resident says, there was a *nala* near Kourundhouru which flowed into the Gogra or Dehuá, but that this is now filled up, although on the south side marks of it are still visible, *viz.*, about two miles east of the present Manjhi Thanah, which again is about one mile east of tola Mehdiganj, where the former thanah stood."

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. VI.—IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

OF Lord Beaconsfield it may fairly be said (as was said of Cromwell by Carlyle) that he was a man of imperial mind. To him it is due that a concrete form was first given to the conception of a consolidated British Empire, and it may be safely added that, had he survived until now, we should have been at this moment within measurable distance of—if indeed we had not already attained—the consummation of that idea. But that which the Primrose Earl did not live to effect may be brought about by the Imperial Federation League and its colonial branches. The cause has many able and earnest advocates: it is being pushed with wise moderation, and it appeals irresistibly to the affection, the loyalty, and the self-interest of all the peoples whom it is proposed to weld together.

As there are obstinate opponents who cannot believe in this thing because it is a new departure, so are there impatient imperialists who cannot understand or brook opposition. On the one hand we have Mr. Bright denouncing Imperial Federation as childish, absurd, and a delusion. On the other, we may imagine the vexed soul of the Federalist bursting forth somewhat in the following manner:—

“Can any politician, possessing the most limited foresight, be insensible to the national glory and the countless benefits that would flow from the federation of our British possessions? Can any statesman falter in that course which would secure a united British Empire—an empire wider, wealthier and more powerful for good (while founded upon a more solid basis) than that of Rome in her palmiest days, or that which, from the Carpathians to the Himalaya, owned the sway of the Tartar conqueror Genghis? Neither timidity nor care for the national wealth should bid the statesman pause, for Federation must add to the strength of every component part of the Empire and promote, in a greater or less degree, the commercial welfare of every member of the group.

Happily, as I think, the cause of federation is gaining ground. We hear no further suggestions from Mr. Gladstone that England would not object to see her colonies sundered from the fatherland. The apostle of peace and piece-goods, who has forced Lancashire shirtings upon the free-list of India’s customs-tariff, breathes no more the amiable prayer (or was it anathema?) “Perish India.” Those who desire disintegration are more cautious in expressing their opinions, or possibly are wavering, while from the Dominion of Canada and the

Provinces of Central Asia, the voices of a scattered British people are raised almost unanimously in support of Mr. Forster, Lord Roseberry, and the Imperial Federation League.

Opinions upon this subject have been divided into three classes : (1) Those of the disintegrationists—a dwindling section ; (2) Those of people who are satisfied with existing relations as sufficiently binding (Lord Dury has halted here on his downward journey from Federation to Disintegration) : and (3) Those in favour of measures that shall effect a lasting Imperial union. But as far as can be seen, an overwhelming majority of those who think about this question at all, are of opinion that Federation is desirable : even Lord Norton admits this, albeit he pronounces Imperial Federation an impossibility (*Nineteenth Century* of September 1884).

But is it an impossibility ? Doubtless it may seem so to those who will give no second thought to the method by which difficulties in its realization may be surmounted ; a century ago it would have been generally accepted as impossible to improve a tea-kettle into a locomotive steam-engine ; but Watts and Stevenson effected this metamorphosis. There are, no doubt, difficulties in the path of Federation : the first steps must, as Lord Roseberry has pointed out, be of a tentative character ; but if the initiative be taken before Imperial neglect or unwisdom has alienated the colonies, Federation, in a complete and lasting form, must be the result. Impossibility there is none.

Lord Norton tells us that "there are no precedents in history at all suggestive of any possible combination, even for consultative purposes, amongst a number of governments under one sovereign, so widely separated from each other, so distinct in character, and so antonomous as our colonies." And to prove this he informs us that the Amphictyonic Council, and the Spanish Council of the Indies, offer no example of the kind. But why should he have gone so far afield, and into times so remote for a precedent ? Surely Germany affords one which is sufficiently applicable and potent—only in point of distance is there any apparent weakness in this example : but the weakness is only superficial : steam and electricity have annihilated distance. The telegraph has brought Australasia, the most far away of British possessions, within speaking range of the mother country. Melbourne can hold conversation with White Hall now-a-days with a degree of expedition surpassing that which forty years ago marked the interchange of thought between Exeter and London : and the Australasian Representatives could attend a Federal Council held in England, with as little inconvenience to themselves, and as much practical effect to the Commonwealth, as can the members

for Bavaria and Würtemberg attend the Bundesrath or Reichstag held in Berlin.

Lord Norton is certainly not a disintegrationist ; very frequently he writes in terms, vigorous and forcible, that indicate a strong leaning towards that Imperial Federation which he despairs of. For example, he says "for the groups of Canadian and Australian colonies, federation is not only a possibility but a policy of the highest and most obvious value. . . . It will qualify them as members of the Empire. It will create a sense of nationality." Reading this paragraph one must conclude that the writer had for the moment forgotten that the Empire was an impossibility.

Then again, he says "commercial intercourse no doubt is greater than it would be in independence. . . . All combine to a more vital and evergrowing union than any novel and artificial federation could effect." He clearly expresses himself as in favour of a united Empire, and it would seem, forgets once more that it is an impossibility : for whether we talk of British possessions united in a vital and evergrowing union, or of those same possessions united by Imperial Federation, it would appear that we are talking about the same thing in different phraseology : And hear Lord Norton's objections to the thing itself in its naked simplicity are (1) that it is new, and (2) that it is artificial ; of which it may be said that while the former objection would apply to every reform and every improvement known to statescraft and civilization ; the latter is not a tangible objection at all, because it proceeds on the false hypothesis that Imperial Federation must be, and remain, other than a reality.

It is gratifying, however, to find that Lord Norton believes in the principle that trade follows the flag. I shall hereafter quote figures in support of that principle, and through those figures, appeal to the mercantile instincts in behalf of Imperial Federation.

Unfortunately Lord Norton lives contentedly in the happy belief that "the Queen's ministry consults and acts for the colonies as much as for her home subjects." Presumably he has not heard how the Queen's ministers consulted and acted for the Queen's Australasian subjects in regard "to the annexation of, or protectorate over, New Guinea. The truth in this respect is more nearly represented by the Rev. J. N. Dalton (*Nineteenth Century* of July 1885) in these words :— "In relation to all imperial matters, the colonists of our own race, lineage and language, living on British soil, and under the British flag, remain to this day as unrepresented as if they were aliens."

Nor is this the only instance in which Lord Norton has closed his eyes to historical facts. He uses, of course, the

argument of conflicting customs tariffs, and asks "Would Canada agree to give up to the Imperial Council her present powers of fiscal regulation? And adds "she is now imposing duties on much of our commerce." He should have remembered (or ascertained if he did not already know it) that Canada not many years ago made overtures to England for a more intimate fiscal connection, and that those advances were contemptuously rejected. But who can imagine that self-governing colonies should be required to give up their powers of fiscal regulation as a condition precedent of federation? No body would be wild enough to propose the centralization of the whole Imperial revenue system. Even in India, which is largely governed from Downing-street—where, instead of representative government, there is an autocracy, a despotism, tempered it has been said, by the occasional loss of a dispatch box key—even there decentralization of fiscal matters has been carried to considerable lengths.

If, however, Lord Norton refers only to that portion of the fiscal system which relates to customs duties: if it were essential as a preliminary to Imperial Federation, that all the members of the Empire should adopt one tariff and that a free-trade tariff: I believe, even so, that federation, although it might be deferred for a time, would not be an impossibility. Recent events in Australia warrant this assumption. Victoria, the most bigoted Protectionist colony of the Australasian group, possessing a customs tariff that for the major part is absolutely prohibitive, is now discussing with Tasmania the terms of a reciprocity treaty that can only be regarded as the first step to inter-colonial free-trade as far as Australasia is concerned. Victoria has also made advances in this direction to her rival sister in the love of protection—South Australia. And the free-trader of these colonies has grounds for believing that no insuperable difficulty lies in the way of an Imperial customs union based upon free-trade principles.

Lord Norton is not alone in creating difficulties that only endure as long as they remain unnoticed. Lord Bury tells us that the colonies will never consent to bear their share of taxation to meet the cost of national defence. Canada and Australasia have nobly vindicated their loyalty and repelled this scandal upon them. When the New South Wales Contingent volunteered for the Soudan, and the manhood of the Australias was ready to leap to arms in the cause of England, the colonists of the Southern Seas showed their willingness to bear more than their money quota of the general defence movement—they were prepared to give their blood. Australasia has gladly borne the expense of administering so much of New Guinea as Bismarck and Lord Derby permitted to

remain a British possession : every colony of the group took more or less active measures, and expended more or less of revenue, in preparations for self-defence at the time war with Russia seemed imminent : and at this moment there is every reason to anticipate that they will combine for the purpose of establishing an auxilliary naval force in addition to the war vessels and torpedo-boats already maintained out of colonial income. What Canada has done or desired to do in this respect is too well known to require comment here. Nor (as Lord Bury referred to colonies) need I dwell at length upon the fact that British Indian tax-payers have from time to time been made to bear more than their share of the cost of wars with which they have had little or no concern.

Lord Norton considers, that if matters are left to take their own course, the result will be an unchartered federation tacitly accepted by all British peoples, and held together by public opinion as expressed in the journals and reviews. His substitute for an impossible Federal Senate is a "Council of the Press." This *laissez faire* style might be tolerated if the issue at stake were of less magnitude than it is. Recent British policy has been of this order without any very satisfactory consequences : events have been very much allowed to shape themselves, and those who should have moulded them, have generally been found prepared to prevent trouble, after the trouble had wrought its full measure of ill. Under this system England has drifted into a few inglorious wars and what promises to be an equally inglorious peace : but worse than all this would be the disintegration of the Empire which may be expected as the alternative of federation. Lord Roseberry, at the Conference held on July 29th, 1884, uttered a note of warning on this head. Thus runs the peroration of his eloquent address :—

'I have dealt entirely with practical points, and I now come to the most practical of all. It is that you should not postpone this question till it is too late. On both sides the world—across the Western ocean and across the Southern ocean—you have two great countries—Empires, if you will, stretching forth their hands to you in passionate loyalty and devotion to the country from which they spring. If you will not avail yourselves of that sentiment now, the time may come when you will bitterly repent it ; and it is therefore from the timely and practical handling of this question that I hope to see the greatest benefit arise.'

We are told that Imperial Federation is an impossibility because (among other reasons that vanish upon examination) no British minister would dare to propose the abolition of Parliament, and election, in its stead, of a Federal Congress. But no body has asked or dreamed of such a drastic

proceeding : nor, indeed, is there any precedent for such a thing even though we go back to the Amphictyonic Council in search of it. Prussia certainly did not find it necessary to abolish her two Houses of Parliament when, by the creation of the Federal Council and Federal Diet, she procured Imperial government, and founded the most powerful empire of Continental Europe: nor would the Dominion of Canada, or the constitutionally governed colonies of Australasia, brook the abolition of their local Parliaments any more than the Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

Mr. Dalton has replied to this argument : "What is required," he says, "is to adopt the present constitution to the basis of a British federation. On the colonial side we have the local Parliaments ; we must give them a share in the Imperial Parliament : on our side we have the Imperial, we must give ourselves Local Parliaments. This disposes of the question of abolishing the British Parliament, but it may be doubted whether, when an Imperial Council shall have been attained, it will absorb the existing Houses. I should rather imagine such an Imperial body would be constituted apart from the British and Colonial Parliaments alike, and with the same relations to all Local Parliaments.

It is idle for any one writing at this distance from the centre of the Federation movement to suggest the means by which Imperial Federation may be brought about. The Members of the League, the workers who have the cause at heart, deem it imprudent to sketch out any particular plan at present, and we, who are at the antipodes, may well accept this example of caution. It would not have impaired the fortunes of Federation, if Sir Samuel Wilson (who is in some degree a representative colonist of Victoria) had observed greater reticence in this respect. For, in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, Sir Samuel Wilson both promises and proposes too much. With his figures I shall have to deal later ; but his Federation schemes may be disposed of at once. His "perfect and symmetrical form" is an Imperial Parliament of two Houses, each of which shall be elected by the Upper and Lower Houses of the several portions of the Empire ; and the peculiar symmetry of this arrangement consists, I suppose, in the electoral unit being fixed at half a million (when the whole British populations aggregate fifty millions), and each political party being represented by equal numbers. If it were practicable, this scheme would be symmetry itself : it would be so symmetrical, indeed, that there would be a perpetual deadlock for want of a majority to carry any measure : and it would, moreover, wholly efface some important colonies in respect of Imperial representation for many years to come.

But, says Sir Samuel Wilson, the steps that might lead up to this perfect and symmetrical plan might be, in the first instance, the appointment of a Council of the Agents-General of the colonies, as recommended by Lord Grey and Mr. Montague Burrows. Having set up this first step, Sir Samuel immediately proceeds to knock it down again by adding, that "this would not be Federation in any sense, and might even retard that desirable end," leaving us wholly in the dark as to this mysterious process which is at once to lead up to, and down from, the same object. There is another step yet in Sir Samuel's flight, and a more important one—a much more important one he tells us—this is the extension of the Grand Committees in the House of Commons and their formation in the House of Lords. This step has the merit of not leading away from Federation, because, in the absence of further explanation than has been accorded, it would appear to lead nowhere.

To my mind the suggestion of Lord Grey that some sort of Council of Advice comprising the Agents-General of the colonies, invites serious consideration; because such an arrangement (more particularly if the Indian Council were included) would be, although only tentative, a decided step towards Imperial Federation, and therefore, certain to expedite rather than retard that movement.

So far the question of including India in the scheme of Imperial Federation has not been discussed to any extent. Mr. Arthur Mills has asked if India and the Crown colonies are to be included, and Sir Samuel Wilson has replied to the effect that, probably, in the first instance, only colonies, with representative institutions and mainly of the English races, would be included. But why should we exclude, in the first instance, that noble empire which is styled the brightest jewel in the British Crown? Why, at the outset, when the greatest effort is required, shut out the wealthiest and most populous of all the British possessions? British India, with a light customs tariff, raises a revenue of over seventy millions: she expends in England upon departments, pensions, &c., an annual sum considerably greater than the local revenue of some Australasian colonies, and she possesses a population five times greater than the aggregate peoples of British lineage distributed over all our British dominions. It is true that the English garrison India—not colonize it; it is true, moreover, that, for climatic reasons, the English never can colonize India. But the English have, as, the successors of the Moguls, founded a splendid empire in Hindostan, which should not be lightly overlooked when schemes of Imperial Federation are under consideration.

In making these remarks I assume that it is a wise policy to encourage, in the various races of India, the wholesome

feeling that they and the British people have common interests and equal claims to representation in the Council of the Empire. It seems to me the wisest policy to bind those 250 millions British subjects to our cause, and so present to the world a united people of 300 millions prepared to stand and fall together in the national defence. Such a spectacle would be a standing menace to any Power that looked with hungry eye across the Afghan border for another Penjdehi. This would have been regarded as the view of a visionary any time prior to the manifestations of loyalty that presented themselves during the late crisis. It is within the bounds of possibility that Russia counted upon a second Indian Mutiny as one of the chances that would favour her onward march to Herat—and further: but she reckoned without her host. From nearly every Independent or semi-Independent State of India—from Puttealla, Jheend, the Mahratta kingdoms, the States of Rajpootana, Mysore and even Kooch Behar, came offers of arms and all the military resources the Chiefs had at their disposal, and this spontaneous outburst of devotion to the Empress-Queen can only be looked upon as the reflex of the feeling generally prevalent throughout British India. The people of our Indian Provinces had no troops or batteries to place at England's disposal, but they tendered what they had—money, and the public voice. Even in Bengal, the least warlike of the Provinces and the most unsparing in criticism of English misgovernment, the people rose to the occasion, and at a public meeting held in Calcutta, subscribed a princely sum (70 lakhs if I remember correctly) towards the war expenditure.

There is a selfish reason why those who are rulers of men and leaders of public opinion in Hindustan, should stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the English in opposing a Russian invasion. As is pointed out by D. Mackenzie Wallace in his "Russia," while the Home system of government in Russia is autocratic, the method adopted in conquered territory is democratic. Under Russian rule the ryot of India would be certainly no better off than he is at present, and the Prince or Rajah or Rais would be reduced to the level of the ryot: consequently, while no one of our Indian fellow-subjects has anything to gain by this particular change of rule, there are thousands who have everything to lose by it.

There is loyalty, therefore, in India, whether wholly or only partially selfish in character: and we have been for years engaged in educating the Indians up to the level of self-government. Able statesmen, such as Sir Salar Jung, for example, have stood out prominently from the teeming millions and made for themselves niches in the Temple of Fame. Distinguished Native Judges have sat upon the benches of the High Courts

of Calcutta, Bombay and Allahabad, and reflected honour upon the judicial ermine : members of the native nobility have sat in the Supreme Council with credit, at all events, if not invariably with great distinction. And last, but in the possibilities which it foreshadows, not least, we have in Mr. Lalmohun Ghose an educated native of India who, will not wait until Imperial Federation shall have given to India a voice in Imperial Government : he looks to secure this in part through the agency of the Greenwich electors. Now, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, if he were elected by the British Indian community to represent them in the Imperial Council, would never experience, in the discussion of Imperial affairs, any feeling of incongruity : but Mr. Ghose as the representative of Greenwich would, I should apprehend, often feel his position an anomalous one : for the local measures most precious to the Greenwichers would not greatly interest Mr. Ghose : and Mr. Ghose would not interest at all the few M. P.s who might remain in the House while he spoke of Imperial measures very dear to the people of India.

Finally, then, I may say that Imperial Federation would be incomplete if India were excluded : that, for commercial reasons and for reasons of a higher order of policy, India should be included : and that India is in no sense unprepared to take her fitting place in the Empire. Naturally any proposal such as this must meet with the unmitigated disapproval of Mr. Farrer and those who are of his school of thought. Mr. Farrer asks (*Fortnightly Review*, November 1884) "Why should we surrender our position of paramount supremacy, and either descend to political equality with our subject colonies or raise them to our political level?" And this is asked not in relation to India, but with an eye to Canada and Australasia. What language Mr. Farrer would employ to depict the abject political position of India I am at a loss to imagine ; but this is pretty certain—that he will not lend his voice to raise India one jot in the political scale.

The Australasian view of Mr. Farrer would probably be, that his mind is a survival from the feudal ages. Mr. Farrer climbs to the top of the loftiest pedestal, and then, with his head in the clouds, glories in "our paramount supremacy." Looking down from this dizzy eminence he cannot see what the colonies—the "subject colonies"—are : he only knows, in a general way, that they are very far beneath him ; too low in the political scale for him to descend from his paramount position to their level. There were many Farrers in England six score years ago, who in similar fashion revelled in their proud supremacy over those subject-colonies of America, which we now know as a powerful empire under the modest title of the United

States. There will yet be Farrers, possibly, when the subject-colonies of Australasia shall have developed into an empire equal in importance to the United States of to-day : and as those of Mr. Farrer's way of thinking can neither help nor hinder this fulfilment of Australasia's destiny, it may be hoped that they will, as far as possible, avoid imprudent speech which may alienate the affection of people whom, in the fulness of time, England may desire to retain—not as ~~heirs~~ or "subject-colonists," but as fellow-subjects upon equal terms.

It is true that the relation of Canada and the Australasian colonies to great Britain is in some degree a dependent one. The Governors of the colonies are nominated by the Crown : Acts of the Colonial Legislatures require the Royal assent (which is given, as a matter of course, by the Governor in respect to all measures, save those which affect a change in the constitution) and as to any foreign policy, such as the annexation of New Guinea, the colonies are decidedly at the mercy of the Queen's ministers in England. These are the only indications of dependency that characterise the relations of Canada and the self-governing colonies of Australasia with the mother-country, unless we take into account the naval squadron which Britain sends to the Australian Station. But it may be contended, that this squadron is sent more for the protection of English sea-borne merchandize than to watch the coasts "by the long wash of Australasian wave ;" and, viewed in that light, the dependence (or obligation) of Australasia is less than it might seem to be.

At the present moment even, if the feeling of the colonists inclined that way, the self-governing colonies of Australasia are in a position to assume perfect independence and political equality without the slightest fear of national extinction. The machinery of government is to hand. The Governors and the Royal prerogative might be swept away by a stroke of the pen. The foreign policy of the group could not be more feebly conducted by independent Australasia, than by Lord Derby, the Queen's Minister for the Colonies : and for the naval squadron, Australasia could keep one for herself if necessary. But were these colonies independent, the necessity of defence measures would be sensibly decreased, if it did not altogether disappear. War between Great Britain and Russia or any other Power would involve no risk to independent and neutral Australasia. The colonies would certainly be the gainers in this respect : and when Mr. Farrer objects to federation, tacit or declared, because of the cost to England of defending the colonies : he should remember that there is another side of the shield—that the colonies may object to their connection with England, because it involves them in

defence expenditure that would not be incurred (for some generations at all events) if they severed the connection. Happily, there is no selfish feeling of this sort in Australasia, but rather that passionate loyalty of which Lord Roseberry, who has seen the colonies for himself, spoke. The loyalty of these colonies is unstinted and unimpaired by differences of race or class or creed. The people—the three and a quarter millions—of Australasia, whether of English, Irish, Scotch, German or any other extraction, are as one; and, so far, proud to be known as Englishmen. The attachment to the throne is as earnest as it is unanimous. It may be only sentiment, but it is a sentiment that has its roots deep set in the people's hearts, and only a very serious and cruel wrench could tear it up.

There is, necessarily, some point at which the colonial patience and loyalty would both fail together; but we have seen in the New Guinea matter how much the Australians can bear, without swerving in their good-will to the mother-country. Strong feeling there was against the Secretary of State who muddled and misled; that feeling was strongly expressed in and out of Parliament: but in their anger the people discriminated, and nothing faltered in their allegiance as a British community.

Be it admitted that Australasia was exorbitant in her first demand for territorial aggrandisement. When it was asked that, not only the unappropriated portion of New Guinea and the New Hebrides, but the Islands of the South Pacific generally should be annexed or protected in the colonial interests, those who made the request went further than the occasion or prudence required. Such a demand implied that Great Britain enjoyed a monopoly of colonial extension, Providence having bestowed upon her the sole right to seize upon all the outlying portions of the earth not already held by some first-class power. But in respect of the New Guinea and New Caledonian *recidiviste* questions, justice was on the side of the colonists. The propinquity of New Guinea to Queensland justified the desire of Australia to acquire the Eastern portion of that island, or, at least, to prevent its acquisition by some other colonising power. It was not earth-hunger that stirred the colonists, but a reasonable regard for the preservation of peace upon the continent, and the security of the Queensland seaboard against invasion; and when Queensland, overleaping the bounds of her authority, hoisted the British flag on the soil of New Guinea, she only confirmed the action previously taken by Captain Mosesly and another British naval officer, on two several occasions. Many years ago Eastern New Guinea was practically annexed, and then, a word from the Home authorities

would have made it a British possession. Nor is it too much to say that, had Lord Derby promptly accepted the somewhat irregular action of Queensland, Germany would not have been at this moment co-sharer with us in that island.

But promptness was not to be looked for in Lord Derby. The drifting policy was pursued. The colonists were kept in heart by the assurance that, at all events, no foreign power should be permitted to appropriate any part of Eastern New Guinea. Hope was fanned to life in the colonial bosom with such persistence, that it still lived even when the Anglo-German partition of that territory had been finally arranged. For five months, while on the one hand Lord Derby was calming the colonial mind with empty promises, he was engaged, on the other hand, in dividing the New Guinea spoil with Bismarck. Very plain spoken was the opinion expressed by Victoria on this subject. There was no circumlocution, no softening euphemisms; no diplomatic vagueness about it. Victorians felt called upon to censure the conduct of the Colonial Secretary of State: and their Premier, Mr. Service, acting as the people's mouth-piece, administered the reprobation in the briefest and most explicit terms. There was no gilding of the pill: the bolus was a small one, but, as it is with a globule of croton oil, there was a good deal in it. Mr. Service represented the Victorian view of the matter in a telegram to the Agent General thus:—"Either Lord Derby has deceived us or been himself deceived; great indignation here in consequence."

If we may question the prudence or propriety of framing this message in the particular manner that was adopted, we cannot dispute the correctness of the thoughts expressed. The ideas were sound, whatever exception may be taken to the words that clothed them. Indeed, as far as the spirit of the message is concerned, there was error, some may think, on the side of moderation. It is the opinion of many, that Lord Derby was at once deceived and the deceiver, not, as the telegram puts it, one of the two. Exception has been taken to the form of Mr. Service's message. In the course of a long debate on the reply to the address in the Victorian Legislative Assembly, one Honorable member spoke strongly against the impropriety of Mr. Service's telegram. But his criticisms fell flat; patriotism was too strong a force in the House to admit of their successful issue: the general feeling was that, if the Premier's words had not been most happily chosen, he had adequately performed his duty in speaking strongly.

But the people who are, not unnaturally, indignant with Lord Derby, remain loyal to English traditions and the English flag. It would take more than one episode of the New Guinea order to alienate them. Will history repeat itself? Will

England, unmindful of the past, pursue in her relations with Canada and Australasia the policy which lost to her an Empire in the States of America? It may be hoped that the Imperial Federation League is strong enough, and determined enough, to reply with an authoritative negative.

There can be no question that in the fulness of time both the Canadian Dominion and Australasia will become powerful factors in the comity of nations; no exaggeration of facts or figures: no speculative rashness need be introduced in proof of this. But there is a special fascination about statistics, more particularly when they deal with millions and billions, which is apt to lead even sober minds very much astray: and I think Sir Samuel Wilson, in his attempt to forecast the future grandeur of Australasia, has permitted his millions to get out of hand and bolt with him.

Possibly his preliminary consideration of the growth of the English race (including the people of the United States) dazzled him. "These numbered at the beginning of the century 20 millions: these number at the present time 94 millions: and should this rate of increase, *21 per cent. per decade* continue (as there is every reason to expect) for another 100 years, the English race will in 1985 number 600 millions, and in 2,085 four thousand millions." Having created these 4,000 millions of English (to the utter horror of the Malthusians and others), it is only consistent in Sir Samuel Wilson to point out where they are to find standing room. He billets 500 to 600 millions of them upon Australasia. "The Australian Colonies," he says, "might not be over-populated while maintaining 500 to 600 millions of people." But there is here a certain carelessness for his millions which might be deprecated by those concerned. Those colonies might not be over-populated, or, I suppose, they might be over-populated. Possibly Sir Samuel Wilson confuses men and sheep in his calculation.

Thus does Sir Samuel elucidate his argument "with the enormous area of the Australasian Colonies consisting of 3,000,000 (more millions!) of square miles, with at present a population of only one person to the square mile, there is room enough for the surplus population of Europe (not only the 600 millions of English) for many generations to come."

But this too ardent advocate fails to take into consideration the varieties of soil and climate that materially affect the question of settlement upon his three millions square miles. Let me briefly note the more important of these:—

(1) There is in the heart of Australia a *terra incognita* which, as far as the meagre results of partial explorations guide us, is as little available for occupation by Sir Samuel's teeming millions as the Great Sahara; (2) the climate of Northern

Australia is unfavourable to European labour: only tropical constitutions can bear the heat and exposure of out-door work in those latitudes, where sugar-cane and maize, not wheat and barley, are the products of the farm; and (3) a very considerable portion of the Australian remnant consists of very poor soil, only suitable for grazing purposes, and soil which is altogether barren.

It would not be too much to exclude two-thirds of the 3,000,000 square miles, as in any sense a population carrying area, and the remainder of 1,000,000 square miles would certainly not carry 600 to the square mile or 600 millions in all. Not even in India where, under a system of *petit culture*, farms average five acres in extent: where labour is so cheap, that a dozen people are employed to do the work of one: and where a peasant may keep a large family and save money on an income of £ 6 a year—not even in India are the people overcrowded to such a starvation point as 600 per square mile.

Let us turn to the Colonial statistics and see what the growth of these colonies has been since 1825:—

<i>Population.</i>	In 1825	47,867	
	1835	111,764	Increase in decade 133 <i>per cent.</i>
	1845	267,605	" " " 139 "
	1855	808,847	(Gold discovered) 202 "
	1865	1,372,093	" " " 57 "
	1875	2,296,009	" " " 69 "
	1884	3,232,214	" 9 years " 48 "

NOTE.—Populations of Western Australia up to 1870, and New Zealand up to 1852, cannot be correctly ascertained.

<i>Revenue.</i>	1825	£ 71,682
	1835	" 346,262
	1845	" 462,840
	1855	" 4,448,684
	1865	" 7,250,155
	1875	" 13,999,533
	1883	" 21,473,353

Note exclusive of Queensland up to 1859, and Western Australia up to 1865.

Railways. Miles open.

1855	14	} Railway extension pushed on in 1884 and proceeding during the current year.
1865	491	
1875	2,159	
1883	6,661	

Exports and Imports.

	<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>
1825	£ 123,837	388,161
1835	" 1,002,872	1,698,451
1845	" 2,126,663	1,939,235
1855	" 19,206,493	20,525,973
1865	" 31,536,094	35,901,320
1875	" 44,054,218	47,872,840
1883	" 55,719,558	61,570,931

Exports. Gold and Tin.

1851	£ 468,336	NOTE.—The maximum since gold discovery £ 13,364,643 in 1868. The minimum since 1855. £ 7,497,423 in 1880. Quantity of gold minted in the colonies is not represented.
1855	" 11,361,190	
1865	" 11,974,155	
1875	" 9,956,523	
1883	" 8,055,193	

And before I quit statistics I may show what portion of the trade of British Colonies is direct with the mother-country :—

1882.	Total Imports	From Great Britain.
India	... £ 60,436,155	... £ 43,447,848
Australasia	... 63,844,359	... 31,763,620
N. America	... 26,618,691	... 11,249,113
W. I. Islands	... 6,121,251	... 2,478,358
Cape of Good Hope	... 9,660,641	... 7,613,396
Natal	... 2,213,538	... 1,784,345
Total	... £ 168,894,635	... £ 98,336,680 = 58 per cent.

Note : Bullion and specie not included in returns for Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and West Indian Islands.

1882.	Total Exports	To Great Britain.
India	... £ 83,068,198	... £ 34,937,974
Australasia	... 50,633,335	... 24,802,305
N. America	... 22,737,171	... 9,785,999
W. I. Islands	... 6,713,644	... 3,508,525
Cape of Good Hope	... 4,568,956	... 4,121,434
Natal	... 731,809	... 607,609
Total	... £ 168,453,113	... £ 77,763,008 = 46 per cent.

This return, it may be pointed out, does not include any of the inter-colonial trade, and therefore does not fully show how trade follows the flag.

These figures speak for themselves. But to further elucidate the extraordinary progress of Australasia, I will show what the growth of her imports and exports has been since 1868 comparing it with that of India and British North America :—

	IMPORTS.		
1868	1882		Increase.
India	... £ 47,481,157	... 60,436,155 = 27	per cent.
Australasia	... 31,566,182	... 63,844,359 = 102	" "
N. America	... 17,055,593	... 26,618,691 = 56	" "

	EXPORTS.		
1868	1882		Increase.
India	... £ 52,446,002	... 83,068,198 = 58	per cent.
Australasia	... 33,256,285	... 50,633,335 = 52	" "
N. America	... 13,320,393	... 22,737,171 = 70	" "

Now, if we regarded these figures with the sanguine eye of Sir Samuel Wilson, we should argue thus wise (or thus

unwisely). The increase of Australasian population in the nine years 1875 to 1884 was at the rate of over 53 *per cent.* Let us take 50 *per cent.* for the decennial increase hereafter, and fifty years hence (1944) our Australian people will exceed in number the present population of Great Britain and Ireland. But bringing moderate caution to bear upon the matter, we must foresee that in the absence of exceptional and frequently recurring influences of a stimulating character, the percentage must decline from decade to decade. Further discoveries of rich mineral deposits; more liberal land laws, and greater facilities as to carriage and communication given to agricultural settlers, would serve for a time to maintain the present rate of increase, or even make the percentage greater, but it would be unreasonable to count upon these influences as of constant occurrence.

As long as Australasia has good agricultural land to offer upon reasonable terms to the free selector, and while the Australian labour market continues to attract the working classes of the mother country, the tide of immigration will continue to flow into these colonies, but that tide will not always remain at the same level, and if a period of depression occurred in Australasia, there would result a temporary check to immigration that would materially affect the decennial increase of population.

The pessimist, who looked only at the exports of Australasian gold and tin, might argue that the period of decline had commenced. These exports from Victoria were in 1856 of the value of £12,929,818 : from that year they decline : the average of the five years 1879 to 1883 was £3,787,783, and in 1879 they were as low as £2,612,670. But we find that the aggregate value of all Victorian exports has increased from £13,150,748 in 1865 to £16,398,863 in 1883 ; this increase having been almost continuous throughout that period : and the returns of Imports and Population fully support the view that Victoria is steadily progressing, notwithstanding a falling-off of some nine millions sterling in her output of gold and tin.

Victorian industry has merely entered upon another phase of economical development like New South Wales : Victoria has become a manufacturing colony. Gippsland is becoming a grand agricultural territory if not a second Manitoba. Warrnambool is advancing in the same direction ; whereas Victoria was not very long ago importing cereals for home consumption, she is now an exporting colony, and even were there no revival of her gold-mining, Victoria must continue to progress.

As regards mining, New South Wales, which was alone in the field in 1851, has exerted since that time as much as £2,952,471 in 1864 and as little as £138,007 in 1856. The

average value annually from 1851 to 1883 is £1,755,881, and for the last three years—1881 to 1883, £1,734 110, and New Zealand since 1857, Queensland since 1860, and Tasmania since 1870 have continuously contributed towards the total yield of Australasian minerals.

Australasia cannot bear comparison with the United States of America as a field for agricultural expansion : but she still possesses considerable resources in this direction : her mining industry promises to hold out for many years to come. She has doubtless a great manufacturing future before her, and must become one of the greatest wine producing countries of the world. In short, a great Empire is rising in this Southern Hemisphere, and it remains to be seen whether this shall be for all time one in fact, as it now is in feeling with the mother-country ; or whether this Greater Britain of the future shall have independence forced upon her by English imprudence and neglect.

E. BRADDON. *M. P.*

TASMANIA.

ART. VII.—FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN INDIA—BENGAL.

I.

Civil Justice.

IN 1883 when Mr. Stanhope, from his place in the House of Commons, brought a charge of "extravagance" against the then Government of India, Sir Evelyn Baring, the Financial Member under Lord Ripon, wrote a Minute, dated the 11th August 1883, by way of reply to that charge. Like all Sir Evelyn's writings this Minute is characterized by great ability in the handling of the details of the different branches of administration; and, so far as the Government of Lord Ripon was concerned, the refutation was complete. Had Mr. Stanhope, instead of specially charging Lord Ripon with extravagance, made his charges general against the standing rules followed in the different departments, Sir Evelyn would not, we think, have found it so easy to meet his adversary with satisfactory replies. In 1883 the Government of India enjoyed, in an exceptional degree, financial prosperity, consequently no body took the trouble to inquire as to where extravagance existed. At the present moment the Government of Lord Dufferin, finding it difficult to make two ends meet, has appointed a Finance Committee. With a view to assist the labours of this Committee, we propose to publish from time to time the results of our examination of the different branches of the Administration of India, with special reference to Bengal. In doing this most difficult work, we shall ever keep in view the advice contained in the concluding portion of Sir Evelyn Baring's able Minute just referred to, which is as follows:—

"If any one can point out where expenditure can be reduced without doing harm, he will be rendering a public service. All I can say is that, save in respect to military expenditure, I do not know in what quarter any large permanent reductions can be made without doing harm. To use Mr. Cross's words: 'I am as anxious for economy as Mr. Stanhope; but it must be economy which should not fetter progress.' I do not think it would be desirable at present to go further in the way of substituting native for European agency than will be the case under existing rules, and I think

that the amount of money which might be saved by any such substitution, is often much exaggerated. I am altogether opposed to checking the construction of Productive Public Works, or of works which insure the country against famine, provided such works can be carried out without a resort to fresh taxation. I gather from the terms of Mr. Stanhope's motion, that he proposed to appoint a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the question of reducing expenditure. The only sort of objection that occurs to me as regards this proposal is, that any Committee or Commission sitting in England will never be able to examine many of the most competent witnesses on the subject, for those witnesses are resident in India. Otherwise, the more inquiry there is about Indian Finance the better. The difficulties connected with the administration of the Indian finance, are considerable. I have no sort of wish to under-rate them. I recognized them in my last Financial Statement (para. 8) in the following terms:—‘Our standard of value is unstable. Our opium revenue is precarious. The tax-paying community is poor and incapable of bearing any heavy burthens. War and famine are constantly recurring evils. The comparative absence of private capital throws upon the State many onerous duties, which, in other countries, can be more advantageously performed through the agency of private enterprise.’ I might have added that the very great ignorance which prevails on the subject of Indian finance, both in England and in India, adds materially to the difficulties of the situation. The subject is somewhat difficult and complicated, and to many people it is uninteresting. Moreover, it is often thought to be a great deal more difficult and complicated than it really is. The subject, in all its branches, cannot be mastered without a considerable amount of study and research, which again involves more time than most people care to devote to it. . . . There is, indeed, plenty of room for discussion and criticism on financial and economic questions in India; but so far as I have been able to see, the discussions, both in Parliament and the Press, but too often leave the real points of issue untouched and turn upon issues of relatively slight practical importance.”

We do not pretend to have mastered the subject of Indian Finance; but we have had exceptional opportunities of studying it for several years in connection with some of its branches, and we propose to lay before our readers the following results of our studies. In doing this we will endeavour to confine ourselves to what Sir Evelyn Baring speaks as being “the real points of issue,” and not “turn upon issues of relatively slight practical importance.” We shall begin with—

The Administration of Civil Justice.

The history of the Administration of Civil Justice in India by England is, like the histories of the other Administrations, a history of continued progress, from the rudest and simplest form of Government to the most advanced and complex. The same sincere and earnest desire on the part of England to further the well-being of her Indian subjects, which we at present see in all her doings, was also evinced by her a hundred years ago, when she first came into possession of her new charge in the East. As we proceed with our present subject, it will be seen, how at first she kept the administration of civil justice almost exclusively in the hands of tried European officers, but how, as the natives of the country advanced in education, she has been gradually extending their powers as Civil Judges, so that there exists at present no difference between the powers of a Native Subordinate Judge and a European District Judge as regards the trial of Original Civil suits. Whatever difference now exists, is confined to the trial of certain Appeals and to certain "Miscellaneous" cases. It will be our endeavour to show that the necessity has arisen for the further removal of the distinction between the powers of the District and Subordinate Judges as regards the trial of most of these "Miscellaneous" cases. And that, both on Financial and Administrative grounds, a reconstitution of the present District Courts is urgently called for. We shall first begin with a brief history of the different grades of the Civil Courts, showing how the powers of the Native Judicial Officers have been gradually extended.

Under the Regulations of 1772, passed seven years after the acquisition of the Diwani by the East Indian Company, the Collector of a district presided over the Diwani Adalat or Civil Court, which had jurisdiction in all disputes concerning property, real or personal, *exceeding ten rupees* in value, in all cases of inheritance (excepting the right of succession to zemindaries and talukdaries, which was reserved for the decision of the President in Council), marriages and caste, and all claims of debt, disputed accounts, contracts, partnerships, and demands of rent. As regards property *not exceeding ten rupees*, the head farmer of the pergunnah to which the parties belonged possessed jurisdiction, and his decision was final. An appeal lay from the 'Diwani Adalat' to the Sadr Diwani Adalat, consisting of the President and Members of Council, assisted by the Native Officers of the Khalsa or Exchequer. In 1774 the Office of Collector was abolished, and the Collectors were replaced by officers called Amils, who exercised certain judicial powers. The greater part of the work of deciding the civil cases devolved on the Provincial Councils, of which six were established at Calcutta, Burdwan, Dacca, Murshedabad,

Dinagepore and Patna. In 1780 six Civil Courts, independent of the Provincial Councils, were established in the above-mentioned six places. These courts were presided over by officers, called Superintendents of Diwani Adalat. But the local jurisdiction of these courts proving to be too extensive for the proper administration of justice, twelve new courts were established in the following year, and the presiding officers were called 'Judges of the Diwani Adalat' instead of 'Superintendents.' Under each 'Diwani Adalat' there were six Munsiffs, or native public arbitrators at a salary of Rs. 50 a month. In 1787 the offices of Judge, Collector, and Magistrate were united in the same person, as it was believed that the clashing of authorities caused by the separation of the Revenue and Judicial departments was prejudicial to the interests of both the Government and the people. But in 1793 Lord Cornwallis, who had in 1787 united the offices, again separated them, as "experience had satisfied him that the result of the system of united offices was to sacrifice the administration of justice to the supposed fiscal interests of Government."

Under the Regulations of 1793 passed by Lord Cornwallis, the constitution of the Courts for the Administration of Civil Justice, was as follows :—

- I.—At the head of all the Civil Courts was the Sadr Diwani Adalat composed of the Governor-General and the Members of his Council. It exercised no Original jurisdiction, but was the Chief Court of Appeal.
 - II.—Next to the Sadr Diwani Adalat were the Provincial Courts of appeal established at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshedabad and Patna. They exercised both original and appellate civil jurisdiction. They were superior to the Zillah Courts, but inferior to the Sadr Diwani Adalat.
 - III.—The third in rank was the Zillah Court. It was presided over by a Judge who decided original suits, and heard appeals from the orders of the Native Judicial officers, called Commissioners. In his capacity as an original court, the Zillah Judge was assisted by a Register or Chief Ministerial Officer, who decided suits not exceeding Rs. 200 in value. The decree of the Register was not valid until approved and countersigned by the Judge. The Register was a Covenanted Servant of the Company.
 - IV.—The lowest grade of judicial officers were the Native Commissioners who were employed in the decision of suits, the value of which did not exceed Rs. 50.
- We shall now briefly notice the changes which each of the

above four classes of Civil Courts, especially the Native Courts, have undergone from their constitution in 1793 down to the present time. As regards the Sadr Diwani Adalat, it is only worth knowing, in connection with the subject-matter in hand, that its place is now occupied by the present High Court which came into existence in 1862. The Provincial Courts died an earlier death, having been abolished in 1833.

The history of the Zillah Courts deserves a somewhat detailed account. So long as the Provincial Courts existed, the powers of the zillah courts as regards original suits were, like their powers in hearing appeals, of a limited nature ; but, on the abolition of the Provincial Courts, the zillah Judges were entrusted with unlimited jurisdiction in all original suits. "In 1794 the zillah Judges were empowered to refer to their Registers, for trial and decision, suits for money or personal property not exceeding in amount or value two hundred sicca rupees ; or for mālguzari (revenue paying) land, the annual produce of which did not exceed the same amount ; or for lakhiraj land, the annual produce of which did not exceed twenty rupees. In cases for money or personal property, not exceeding twenty-five sicca rupees in amount or value, the decision of the Register was final, subject to revision by the Judge. In all other cases decided by him an appeal lay to the Provincial Court of appeal ; but in the following year this appeal was directed to lie to the zillah Judge whose decision was declared final. In 1800 the zillah Judges were empowered to refer to their Registers, appeals from the decisions of Native Commissioners in which the property in dispute did not exceed 25 sicca rupees, and the decrees of the Registers thereupon were final ; but this appellate jurisdiction was taken away in 1803, the jurisdiction of Registers to try original cases referred to them by the Judges being at the same time extended to suits for money or other personal property not exceeding 500 sicca rupees in amount or value ; for mālguzari land, the annual produce of which did not exceed the same amount ; for lakhiraj land, the annual produce of which did not exceed 50 sicca rupees : and for other real property, the computed value of which did not exceed 500 sicca rupees." The Registers continued to exercise the above powers, with certain further extensions as to jurisdiction in trying appeals from Munsiffs, down to 1831, when their courts were abolished.

"The history of the Native Judicial Service," says Dr. Field in his 'Introduction to the Regulations,' from which we have quoted above, "is one of great interest, and, within the last few years especially, of remarkable progress." At first the Native Commissioners were, as we have seen, empowered to try suits, the value of which did not exceed 50 sicca rupees.

Under Regulation XVI of 1803, provision was made for the appointment of Head Native Commissioners, to be denominated Sadr Amins, whose jurisdiction extended up to suits not exceeding in value 100 sicca rupees. Regulation XIII of 1810 empowered zillah Judges to refer appeals from Munsiffs for investigation and decision to Sadr Amins. The above powers of the Munsiffs and the Sadr Amins were further extended by Regulation XXIII of 1814 which, among other things, gave jurisdiction to the former in suits not exceeding in value 64 sicca rupees, and to the latter, in suits not exceeding in value 150 sicca rupees. The powers of the Native Judicial officers were still further enlarged by Regulation II of 1821, under which Munsiffs were empowered to try suits not exceeding 150 sicca rupees in value, and the Sadr Amins those not exceeding 500 sicca rupees in value. Regulation IV of 1827 again raised the powers of Sadr Amins, by giving them jurisdiction up to Rs. 1,000; and four years afterwards Regulation V of 1831 raised the monetary limit of suits cognizable by Munsiffs to Rs. 300. Under this Regulation which abolished the Courts of Registers presided over by Covenanted officers of the Company, the office of Principal Sadr Amin was created. The Principal Sadr Amin was vested with original jurisdiction in suits for personal or real property, the value of which did not exceed Rs. 5,000. He was also empowered to try appeals from the orders of the Munsiff, and from the orders of the Sadr Amin on reference by the zillah Judge. Very extensive powers were given to the Principal Sadr Amins in 1837 by Act XXV of that year, under which Judges were empowered to refer to them original suits of any amount or value, and, with the sanction of the Sadr Diwani Adalat, to refer to them any civil proceedings, miscellaneous or summary. Orders passed by Principal Sadr Amins in miscellaneous or summary proceedings were first appealable to the Judge, and then specially to the Sadr Diwani Adalat. Decrees in original cases up to Rs. 5,000 were first appealable to the Judge, and then specially to the Sadr Diwani Adalat. Decrees in suits above Rs. 5,000 were appealable direct to the Sadr Diwani Adalat. Courts were first established in the Mafassal for the trial of Small Causes by Act XLII of 1860, which has been repealed by Act XI of 1865. The Small Cause Courts can be presided over by Covenanted as well as Uncovenanted Officers. They exercise summary jurisdiction in certain classes of cases when the value of the suit does not exceed Rs. 500.

The above state of things continued unchanged till 1868; when the law relating to Native Judges was further amended and consolidated by Act XVI of that year. Under this law the jurisdiction of the Munsiff was extended to all original suits

cognizable by the Civil Court, of which the subject-matter did not exceed in amount or value Rs. 1,000, jurisdiction up to which limit was, till then, exercised by the Sadr Amin, whose office this Act abolished. It further changed the designation of, "Principal Sadr Amin" into that of "Subordinate Judge."

We now come to the present constitution and jurisdiction of the Civil Courts other than the High Court. These were determined by Act VI of 1871. Under this Act the Judge of the Zillah Court is called the District Judge. When the business pending before any District Judge requires the aid of any Additional Judges, Government is empowered to appoint such Additional Judges as may be requisite. The Additional Judge can perform any of the duties of the District Judge on reference from the latter. The original jurisdiction of the District Judge is extended to all suits cognizable by the Civil Court, and his appellate jurisdiction to all appeals from the decrees and orders of the Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs under his control, except where the amount or value of the subject-matter in dispute exceeds Rs. 5,000, in which case the appeal lies to the High Court. The original jurisdiction of the Subordinate Judge extends, under the present law, like that of the District Judge, to all suits cognizable by the Civil Courts. But his appellate jurisdiction extends to such appeals against the decrees and orders of Munsiffs as are referred to him for disposal by the District Judge. He can also try certain "Miscellaneous cases" triable only by the District Judge on reference from him. The classes of cases in which the District Judge is authorized to make such a reference are, however, very few.

The jurisdiction of the Munsiff remains under Act VI of 1871, as it was under Act XVI of 1868, *i.e.*, it extends to all original suits in which the amount or value of the subject-matter in dispute does not exceed Rs. 1,000. Like the Subordinate Judge the Munsiff can also try on reference a few "Miscellaneous cases" triable only by the District Judge.

It will be seen from the above that, as regards Original suits, the District Judge and the Subordinate Judge, possess equal jurisdictions, and that it is only as regards Appeals that the District Judge enjoys greater powers than the Subordinate Judge. He can try appeals against the decrees of the Subordinate Judge when they do not exceed Rs 5,000 in value, while the Subordinate Judge can try appeals only up to Rs. 1,000, *i.e.*, those that are from the decrees and orders of the Munsiff, as he could not from the nature of things try appeals against his own orders.

Hence, it follows, that if the Courts of the District Judges were now abolished, all the business of the Civil Courts could

be performed by the Courts of the Subordinate Judges and the Munsiffs, excepting the trial of appeals from the Subordinate Judge's orders in cases where the amount or value of the subject-matter in dispute did not exceed Rs. 5,000, and of certain "Miscellaneous cases" of which we shall speak hereafter.

Now, as regards the appeals which none but a District Judge can try, we find that in 1881, "out of 19,792 appeals, the District and Subordinate Judges were both competent to try 19,311 or 97.6 per cent. In the remainder, *i.e.*, 481 cases, or in 2.4 per cent., the appeal lay only to the District Judge, the court of first instance being the Subordinate Judge" (High Court's Civil Report for 1881, p. 32). In 1882, "out of 19,501 appeals, the District and Subordinate Judges were both competent to try 18,937, or 97.1 per cent. In the remainder, *i.e.*, 564 cases, or in 2.9 per cent., the appeal lay only to the District Judge, the Court of first instance being the Subordinate Judge." (High Court's Civil Report for 1882, p. 39). In 1883, "of 17,457 appeals, 17,009 or 98.1 per cent. were triable, either by District or Subordinate Judges. In the remainder (*i.e.*, 448 cases) the Subordinate Judges were the Courts of first instance, and the appeal lay therefore to the District Judge." (High Court's Civil Report for 1883, p. 26). In 1884, "of 18,432 appeals, 17,998 or 97.6 per cent. were triable either by District or Subordinate Judges. In the remainder (*i.e.*, 434 cases) the Subordinate Judges were the Courts of first instance, and the appeal lay therefore to the District Judge. The percentage of appeals to the District Judges exhibits no material variation in comparison with the returns of the three previous years" (High Court's Civil Report for 1884, p. 31). The average number of appeals which, during the past four years, none but the District Judges could try, was, therefore, $\frac{481 + 564 + 448 + 434}{4} = \frac{1927}{4} = 482$. As there are 31 District Judges and Additional Judges in Bengal, the average number of appeals against the orders of the Subordinate Judges falling to the share of each, was, therefore, $\frac{482}{31} = \text{nearly } 16$.

We shall now see what the "Miscellaneous cases" are, which also none but the District Judges are competent to try. The following gives the different descriptions of these "Miscellaneous cases," *viz.* :—

- (a) In respect of person and estate of lunatics. Act XXXV of 1858.
- (b) In matters relating to marriage, matrimonial and divorce cases, Act IV of 1869.
- (c) In matters relating to succession and minority.
- (1). As to granting and revoking of Probate and Administration, Act X of 1865,

- Act V of 1881,
 Act VI of 1881,
- (2). In regard to grant of certificates, and for collection of debts on successions of Hindus, Mahammadans and Budhists—Act XXVII of 1860.
 - (3). In reference to appointment of guardians and managers of property of minors—Act IX of 1861.
 - (4). In cases of wrongful possession on succession—Act XIX of 1841.
 - (a). In relation to Partnership Companies and Societies.
 - (1). In winding up Partnership—Act IX of 1872.
 - (2). In regard to appointments, &c., of Trustees or Members of Committees for religious endowments on vacancy occurring—Act XX of 1863.
 - (3). In respect of dissolution and adjustment of affairs of registered societies—Act XXI of 1860.
 - (4). In respect of the winding up of Companies—Act X of 1866.
 - (5). As to adjustment of affairs on dissolution of religious society—Act I of 1880.
 - (e). In relation to Trusts—Act II of 1882.
 - (f) Miscellaneous.
 - (1). In suits under the Patent Laws—Act XX of 1859.
 - (2). Do. under the Copyright Laws—Act XX of 1847.
 - (3). Do. relating to public charities—Act XIV of 1882.
 - (4). In reference to determination of compensation for land compulsorily acquired—Act X of 1870.
 - (5). Judgment-debtor's application to be declared insolvent—Act XIV of 1882, Sec. 344.
 - (6). In reference to unclaimed personal property of intestates—Regulation V of 1799.

It appears from the High Court's Civil Reports that during the years 1881, 1882, 1883 and 1884 the numbers of these "Miscellaneous cases" were 6,649, 6,901, 5,858 and 5,868 respectively. That the trial of these "Miscellaneous cases" absorbs the greater part of the District Judge's time allotted for Civil work, will appear from the following extracts from the High Court's Reports :—

"The decrease in the number of regular appeals heard by District Judges was due, in a great measure, to the increasing demand made upon their time by other duties."—(p. 27. Civil Report for 1883).

Again—"The decrease in the number of original suits and regular appeals decided by District Judges, was common to all but eleven districts in the Province as in 1883. No original suits were decided by the District Judges of Cuttack, Sarun, and Chota Nagpore."—(p. 32. Civil Report for 1884).

The opinion of the High Court, and of some of the District Judges on the subject of these Miscellaneous cases, may also be gathered from the following extracts :—

"Several District Judges have brought to the notice of the Court, the inconvenience at present caused by section 265 of the Indian Contract Act, under the provisions of which all

partnership cases, however trivial, must be heard by the District Judge. The Court has recently addressed the Government of India on the subject."—(pp. 27 and 26, Civil Report for 1883.)

District Judge of Burdwan :—"I have finally to offer some remarks on the difficulty which frequently arises in this district owing to accumulation of Civil work, which can only be disposed of by the District Judge. There were in the last year 1,544 Miscellaneous judicial cases for disposal, of which 271 were in the Judge's file; of these many were contested, Certificate and Guardianship cases, involving heavy sums and considerable expenditure of time. The contested Probate cases are also numerous and are for exceptionally high amounts. . . ."

District Judge of Hooghly :—"It will be seen from the table that the institution of original suits cognizable by the District Court alone, is annually on the increase; this is no doubt chiefly the result of the precedent of the Honourable High Court, which has ruled that suits for adjustment of partnership accounts are triable by the District Court alone, under section 265 of the Contract Act. But besides these suits, others, e. g., contested Probate and Administration cases, suits under the Patent laws, and for dissolution of marriage,—instances of all of which occurred during the past year—are yearly becoming more numerous."

District Judge of Mymensing :—"I find that the time the District Judge can give to civil work in this district is inadequate, and that much of it is wasted on Miscellaneous cases—some unimportant in themselves, and others rendered important only by the manner in which the provisions of the law are strained by the parties in order to obtain the decision of the Court on points raised only incidentally."—(pp. 40 and 41 of the High Court's Civil Report for 1882.)

District Judge of Dacca :—"It will thus be seen that, of the eight persons who were declared insolvents during the past year the status of none of them can be said to have been good, and most of them belonged to a very low class of society. . . ."

District Judge of Tipperah :—"During the year there were 26 applications, of which 13 were granted, 3 withdrawn, and 5 rejected, the total amount of the assets being Rs. 1,295, i. e. an average of Rs. 49; but in one case the assets being Rs. 570, the average of the remainder is to be reduced accordingly. It will thus be seen that the applicants had generally hardly any property to place at the disposal of their creditors. The proceedings may generally be described as of a very petty character, and might well have been disposed of in

inferior Courts. I think only those where the total amount of debts exceeds a certain pecuniary limit, say Rs. 1,000, should be tried by the District Court."—(p. 49, High Court's Civil Report for 1882.)

District Judge of Rungpore:—"The requirements of the present Civil Procedure Code, that applications for declaration of insolvency should be made to the District Court, is hard on the applicants and hard on the Court. It entails on the former heavier expenses than if their applications were heard by Munsiffs, and takes up the time of the latter, for the most part, with very petty matters indeed, while important appeals and original cases are kept back, &c., &c.—"(p. 34 of the High Court's Civil Report for 1883.)

District Judge of Tipperah:—"It would, I think, be well if all Munsiffs were vested with powers of a District Judge in insolvency matters. If a Munsiff is capable of trying and passing a decree in a suit, it seems to follow that he is also capable of adjudicating the judgment-debtor an insolvent. These proceedings are generally of the simplest and pettiest nature, and the time of a highly paid officer, like the District Judge, ought not to be taken up with them. The petitioner has hardly any property to place at the disposal of the Court, the schedule generally assigning a few annas only to each creditor. I think each Court, of every grade, ought to have insolvency jurisdiction in every case, when the decree giving rise to the application has been passed by such Court." . . . (p. 41. Civil Report for 1881.)

District Judge of Furreedpore:—"I regret to say that Act V of 1881 ('Probate and Administration Act') has not proved so useful as was expected. . . If the stamp charges were reduced, and if Munsiffs were made District Delegates under Act V, I believe that the number of grants of letters of administration would greatly increase. At present much inconvenience is experienced by poor people, owing to their having to apply in all cases to the District Judge for certificates, and having to pay the higher rates of process-fees which prevail in the Judge's Court. I remember being struck with this inconvenience when I was in charge of the Rungpore Judgeship. There is a person residing in the District of Bogra, who wanted to take out a certificate to enable him to get payment of a few rupees lying in a Savings Bank or in deposit in Court; he had to go all the way to Rungpore to get the document. Now such a person has, I presume, to go to Pubna. There are other districts similarly situated, and, of course, the inconvenience is felt by every body who resides in a sub-division. I would therefore recommend that a District Delegate should be appointed in every sub-division."—(p. 46. Civil Report for 1884.)"

The above extracts are, we believe, sufficient to shew that the inconveniences felt under the present laws regarding, (1) Matters relating to succession and minority ; (2) Partnership, Companies and Societies ; and (3) Judgment-debtor's applications for being declared insolvent ; are, generally, very great to the suitors, and that the trials of these cases unnecessarily take up a good deal of the valuable time of the District Judges.

It is, however, satisfactory to see that, by repealing, in the present year, section 265 of the Contract Act, noticed in some of the above extracts, the Legislature has taken a step in the right direction. But much still remains to be done. In cases relating to the person and estate of lunatics, and in matters relating to marriage, and also as regards suits under the Patent Act and Copyright Act, we can very well understand the reason why the Chief Court in the district, and none other, should have jurisdiction, but like the Judges whose opinions have been quoted above, we cannot understand why the Courts of the Subordinate Judges and the Munsiffs should not have jurisdiction in other matters. In England jurisdiction is exercised in all such cases by the "County Courts," which are inferior in several other respects even to the Courts of the Munsiff. The following extracts from "Justice and Police : English Citizen Series" will be found interesting in connection with the constitution and jurisdiction of the different grades of the English Courts.

"There is one Court of first instance for the whole of England, with an unlimited competence, namely, the High Court of Justice. Its judicial work is done partly at sittings held at Westminster, in the building known as the Royal Courts of Justice, partly at sittings held periodically at diverse towns, assize towns, throughout the country. What we may call the official work, preparatory and subordinate to this judicial work, is done partly at a great office at Westminster, partly at district registries scattered about England. From this Court there lies an appeal to the Court of Appeal which sits at Westminster. The High Court and Court of Appeal taken together, are styled the Supreme Court of Judicature. From the Court of Appeal there lies an appeal to the House of Lords. These courts are central and 'superior.' Besides these, there are some five hundred County Courts, which are local, 'inferior,' and of limited competence, and whence an appeal lies to the High Court." (p. 20. Justice and Police: English Citizen Series).

The jurisdiction of a County Court is limited in two ways. First, it is geographically limited ; it is a court for a district. Secondly, it is limited as regards its competence to deal with the different classes of cases. "With not many exceptions

a County Court can entertain any civil action that the High Court can entertain, and can give therein any remedy that the High Court can give, if only the sum of money, or the value of the property at stake, does not exceed a certain sum. The great exception is this, that an action for malicious prosecution, libel, slander, seduction, or breach of promise to marry, cannot, however small be the sum claimed, be begun in the County Court. Also, no jurisdiction has been given to these courts in matrimonial causes ; they cannot decree divorce or judicial separation. The pecuniary limits in other cases are various. The most important is this, that in an ordinary action for debt or damage, the amount claimed must not exceed £50 ; claims for debts and damages for a less sum are the staple business of the County Courts, but, oddly enough, there are some contracts which can be enforced, though £500 is at stake ; this is a relic of the time when there were courts of equity distinct from courts of law. If the action be for the partition of an estate, the distribution of a trust fund, the winding up of a partnership, £500 is the limit, and there are other limits for actions concerning lands, for testamentary actions, and for admiralty actions. Again, save for a considerable district comprising London, the jurisdiction in bankruptcy matters belongs to the County Courts, and here there is no money limit." (p. 26. Justice and Police : English Citizen Series) : "The scheme of bankruptcy courts differs somewhat from the scheme of ordinary civil courts though it is made up of the same factors. For London (using that name in a large sense) the primary court is the High Court ; one judge of its Queen's Bench Division is specially charged with the bankruptcy business, but many things can be done in the first instance by one of four Bankruptcy Registrars of the High Court ; the appeal is to the Court of Appeal, and with its leave, to the House of Lords. The rest of England is parcelled out into some 130 districts, each of which has for its bankruptcy court some county court, and thence the appeal is to a divisional court of the High Court, and with its leave to the Court of Appeal, whose decision will be final. There is no appeal at all, unless £50 is at stake, or the court appealed from gives leave." (p. 76 Justice and Police : English Citizen Series).

We have said that in some respects a Munsiff exercises a larger jurisdiction than an English County Judge. For, while "an action for malicious prosecution, libel, slander, seduction or breach of promise to marry, cannot, however small be the sum claimed, be begun in the county court," such an action can be begun in a Munsiff's court. But, again, while a County Judge has jurisdiction in actions for "the distribution of a trust fund, the winding up of a partnership," and in "bankruptcy," and

"testamentary" cases, a Munsiff has not. Now, we cannot understand why such an anomaly as this should exist as regards the different jurisdictions of an Indian and an English Court of the same grade, especially, when its existence, so far as the people of India are concerned, causes so much hardship to the suitors, and such waste of the valuable time of the District Judge. That the Native Judges are not what they were at the beginning of the English rule, is now an admitted fact. They have so far advanced in character and qualification, that they can take their place along with English Judges, as will appear from the following testimony borne by the highest judicial authority in England: "My Lords, for some years I practised in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and during those years, there were few cases of any imperial importance in which I was not concerned. I had considerable opportunities of observing the manner in which, in civil cases, the Native Judges did their duty, and I have no hesitation in saying—and I know this was also the opinion of the Judges during that time—that the judgments of the Native Judges bore most favourable comparison, as a general rule, with the judgments of the English Judges. I should be sorry to say anything in disparagement of English Judges, who, as a class, are most anxious carefully to discharge their duty; but I repeat that I have no hesitation in saying, that in every instance, in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the Native judgments were quite as good as those of English judges." (Extract from a speech by the late Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Selborne, p. 73. Mr. H. J. S. Cotton's *New India*.)

That the Native Judges fully deserve the praise bestowed on them by Lord Selborne, will appear from the following statement, showing the results of appeals decided in 1881, 1882, 1883 and 1884, by the High Court as affecting District and Subordinate Judges.

Results of Appeals in the High Court during the years 1884, 1883, 1882 and 1881 as affecting District Judges and Subordinate Judges, compiled from Statement "Z" annexed to the High Court's Civil Reports.

It will appear, from the percentages given above, that, as regards "Appeals from appellate decrees," and "Miscellaneous appeals," the results are as favourable to the Subordinate Judges as to the District Judges. As regards "Appeals from original decrees," the District Judges seem to have done better. But as the number of "Original cases" tried by the District Judges is very small, it is not to be wondered if the percentage of appeal results in these cases, is slightly in their favour. It will, however, appear from the percentage of decrees reversed in Original cases, that while the Subordinate Judges are gradually gaining ground, the District Judges are losing it. For, while the percentage of "reversals" has *risen* in the case of the District Judges from 14·6 in 1881 to 22·2 in 1884, it has *gone down* in that of the Subordinate Judges from 23 in 1881 to 20·6 in 1884. The time has, therefore, in our opinion, arrived when the present disabilities of the Native Judges, as regards the trial of certain Miscellaneous cases mentioned in a preceding part of these pages, should be removed, and when also the more costly time of the District Judge should not be devoted to the trial of Original suits and Appeals which can as well be tried by the Subordinate Judges.

The following tables give the amount of work done by the District and Subordinate Judges during the years 1881, 1882, 1883 and 1884.

The work done by District Judges during each of the past four years (1881 to 1884) is shown in the following table:—

	DAYS (i.e., WORKING DAYS)		Miscellaneous Cases.	Original Suits.	Regular Appeals.	Miscellaneous before Appellate Court.	Sessions Trials.	Criminal Appeals.	App. Petals.
	Civil.	Criminal.							
1881.									
Total amount of work done by all the District Judges,	4344	3020	298	6,649	7,606	1,185	1,476	3,462	
Average amount of work done by each District Judge,	1497	1041	103	2292	2622	408	509	1193	
1882.									
Total amount of work done by all the District Judges,	4448	3138	354	6,901	9,52	1,405	1,512	3,606	
Average amount of work done by each District Judge,	1534	1082	122	238	312	484	521	1255	
1883.									
Total amount of work done by all the District Judges,	4246	3085	535	5,858	6,871	1,539	1,372	4,385	
Average amount of work done by each District Judge,	1464	1064	184	202	237	53	473	1512	
1884.									
Total amount of work done by all the District Judges,	4241	3252	517	5,868	6,651	1,814	1,533	5,139	
Average amount of work done by each District Judge,	146	112	178	202	229	625	525	1772	

The amount of work done by Subordinate Judges during the past four years was as follows:—

	Original Suits.	Miscellaneous Cases.	Regular Appeals.	Miscellaneous Cases before Appellate Courts.
1881.				
Total amount of work done by all the Subordinate Judges	5,113	6,128	10,466	27
Average amount of work done by each Subordinate Judge	142	170.2	290.7	.7
1882.				
Total amount of work done by all the Subordinate Judges	4,943	6,703	13,027	413
Average amount of work done by each Subordinate Judge	109.8	149	289.5	9.2
1883.				
Total amount of work done by all the Subordinate Judges	5,403	6,714	11,514	452
Average amount of work done by each Subordinate Judge	117.4	146	250.3	9.8
1884.				
Total amount of work done by all the Subordinate Judges	6,628	7,503	11,608	475
Average amount of work done by each Subordinate Judge	157.8	178.6	276.3	11.3

It will be seen from the above tables that very little original work is done by the District Judges. During the four years for which statistics have been given, the District Judges have, on an average, decided not more than 7 per cent. of the Original suits. If, therefore, the Subordinate Judges could dispose of the 93 per cent. of the Original cases, they might be allowed to do also the remaining 7 per cent., especially, as the quality of the work done by them is, as has been shown above, just as good as that of the work done by the District Judges. In

the same way the Subordinate Judges could decide all the appeals from the decrees passed by Munsiffs which they are now competent to decide, and also most of the "Miscellaneous" cases now triable only by the District Judges. In our opinion the District Judges should be relieved: first, of the work of trying Original suits and of hearing appeals from the decrees of Munsiffs, as the Subordinate Judges are competent to try them and have proved themselves as fit for the work as the District Judges; and, secondly, of the work of trying such Miscellaneous cases as are in England tried only by the County Courts. If the District Judges are relieved of their present duties in the above manner, it might be necessary to make a few additions to the numbers of the Subordinate Judges and of the Munsiffs. But as the average pay of a Subordinate Judge is Rs. 718 and that of a Munsiff Rs. 307, the savings effected by abolishing the post of one District Judge, whose average salary is Rs. 2,250, would be more than sufficient for the appointment of two additional Subordinate Judges and two additional Munsiffs. But, as we shall presently show, the additional work could be done easily by the Junior Members of the Civil Service vested with the powers of a Subordinate Judge or of a Munsiff.

It will have appeared from what has been said above, that if the jurisdictions of the Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs be extended to the Miscellaneous cases now triable only by the District Judges, and if the trial of Original suits and of Appeals against the decrees and orders of Munsiffs be confined to the Subordinate Judges, who, in fact, do the bulk of the work even now, it would be possible to reduce the number of District Judgeships without in any way interfering with the efficiency of the administration. We shall proceed to show how this is practicable.

The statement of work done by District Judges given above shows that more than half the number of their working days is devoted to Civil work. In fact, the relation of the days spent on Civil work to the days spent on Criminal work can be represented by the ratio 3:2. A District Judge can, therefore, do twice as much criminal work as he does at present, and have still a fifth of the working number of days available for civil work. The total number of working days in a year is about 250, 50 of these days the Judge can devote in doing civil work if one Judge is placed over two districts. Considering the fact that the average number of annual appeals from the orders of the Subordinate Judges triable by a District Judge, is only 16 per district, it will not be too much for a District Judge to try twice the number of these appeals within 50 days, and have still some time left for the inspection of the work of the

Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs under him. This is, supposing that each District Judge has an equal amount of work to do, which, however, is not the case. For the benefit of our readers we give below the amount of work done by the different District Judges in 1884. It is taken from the High Court's Civil Report for that year.

P. I.

Work done by District Judges, 1884.

Districts.		Days, Civil.	Days, Criminal.	Original Suits.	Miscellaneous cases	Regu'lar Appeals.	Number of miscellaneous cases before Appellate Courts	Number of Sessions trials.	Number of Criminal appeals.
Backergunge	..	150	117	10	203	200	106	27	234
Beerbboom	..	140	109	10	125	144	28	27	50
Ehagulpore	..	159	156	2	124	334	66	81	105
Kurdwan	..	125	136	32	250	123	38	39	84
Bancoorah	..	225	27	40	66	160	27	17	46
Chittagong	..	172	74	15	316	84	134	10	92
Cuttack	..	130	155	..	74	219	45	55	277
Dacca	..	124	134	41	204	105	78	61	413
Dinagepore	..	97	115	4	8	131	14	62	105
Furreedpore	..	135	122	22	214	127	34	35	146
Gya ..	..	135	119	6	139	152	67	59	151
Hoooghly	..	137	113	30	310	216	25	53	200
Jessore ..	..	140	111	23	305	362	70	59	280
Midnapore	..	131	125	24	296	501	110	70	211
Moorshedabad	..	163	73	17	165	352	29	36	155
Mymensing	..	125	156	12	133	106	28	93	271
Noakhally	..	205	56	35	122	329	33	17	43
Nuddea ..	..	105	193	17	228	56	18	64	127
Patna ..	..	148	104	13	418	103	77	51	202
Pubna and Bogra	..	146	126	10	129	243	55	52	181
Purnnah	..	201	61	46	123	206	17	36	58
Rajshahye	..	148	98	9	122	236	41	47	193
Rungpore	..	126	111	9	162	125	27	49	155
Sarun ..	..	113	142	..	310	151	70	110	339
Shahabad ..	..	142	109	4	123	344	70	41	159
Tipperah	..	156	95	5	114	595	83	46	191
Tirhoot ..	..	141	121	23	260	211	243	76	190
24-Pergunnahs	..	210	43	52	632	330	149	76	229
Chota Nagpore	..	112	146	..	4	316	23	86	148
Average work done by each District Judge.	Total.	4,241	3,252	517	5,863	6,651	1,814	1,533	5,139
		146	112	18	202	229	63	53	177

A careful examination of the above table, shows that under the present state of things, District Judges work very unequally. The Judge of the 24-Pergunnahs did more than three times the work done by the Judges of Bancoorah, Beerbboom, Chittagong, Cuttack, Dinagepore, Gya, Nuddea, Pubna, Rajshahye, Rungpore and Sarun, and twice as much as was done by most of the other Judges. The interests of the public and of the Judges themselves require that the work should be more equally distributed,

and this can only be done by doing away with the present system, which requires that as a rule each district should have a Judge of its own. It will not also do to place a Judge over two districts as the inequalities in the amount of work done by the different Judges, as pointed out above, will still continue to exist. But the best possible arrangement would, in our opinion, be to have appellate Judges for Divisions and not for Districts. Each Division should have an appellate bench consisting of two or three Judges, who would be competent to try cases, both conjointly and separately. All the Civil Courts in the Division would be under their inspection, and they would, like the Circuit Judges of England, hold Courts in the different districts under them by rotation. But in each district the Divisional Judges will have an Assistant, a member of the Civil Service, exercising the powers of a Munsiff or of a Subordinate Judge. This Assistant will have the charge of the office of the present District Judge and will, besides trying original and appeal cases to the extent of his powers on the civil side, try criminal cases as well. He will also have the power to receive appeal petitions, to fix dates of hearing for the Divisional Judge, and to release prisoners on bail in criminal cases. The Divisional Judges will further have the power to make use of their district assistants in inspecting the courts of the Munsiffs in the district. This would not only result in a very large saving in expenditure, by reducing the number of District Judges to half of what it is at present, but will also give a better training to those members of the Civil Service who elect the judicial branch thereof. The following extract from Sir Ashley Eden's Minute will show how the want of such a training was felt by his Government, and how he tried to supply the want.

"Two important measures for the improvement of the judicial administration of the province were matured during the year, and have since its close been partially carried out. The object of one of the measures is to provide a good judicial training for all Covenanted Civilians who elect the judicial branch of the service, and to remove the anomaly under which, since the separation of the service into two distinct branches, Civilians of 11 or 12 years standing have often been called upon to hear as Judges, criminal appeals from District Magistrates and civil appeals from Subordinate Judges of 20 years' service, without having themselves ever heard a single criminal appeal or a single civil suit" (p. 2, Bengal Administration Report for 1880-81.) But how the above scheme has worked will appear from the following extracts made from subsequent reports :—

"The scheme for training the younger Covenanted Officers for the judicial branch of the service, by vesting them with civil powers was still on its trial throughout the year, but it has

occasioned a greater amount of inconvenience than is at all commensurate with the advantages to be expected from it, and it will probably have to be largely modified before long." (p. 19, Bengal Administration Report for 1882-83.)

Again: "The scheme for training Junior Officers of the Covenanted Civil Service who had elected the judicial branch of the Service in judicial work, by vesting them with powers of a Civil Court, has, after three years trial, been pronounced a failure by the High Court, and its abandonment recommended. The question is still under the consideration of Government." (p. 13, Bengal Administration Report for 1883-84).

No further mention of the above subject is made in the Report for 1884-85. Very probably Government has thought it proper to leave the scheme of 1880-81 unchanged from its inability to devise a better one, with reference at the same time to the imperative necessity of giving the Junior Civilians, electing the judicial branch of the Service, some sort of training in judicial work. Whether the scheme now set forth by us is a better one or not, we leave it to our readers to judge. Perhaps it will be said that Government could not spare an assistant for each district under the Divisional Judges as proposed in our scheme, without increasing the present strength of the Civil Service. But let us see how far this objection is a valid one. The Civil List shows that, on the 1st January 1886, there were 17 Joint-Magistrates, who were not officiating as Judges or Collector Magistrates, and 95 assistants, of whom as many as 67 had passed the second standard of examination. Is it too much to ask that 30 of these Joints and Assistants should be placed under the Divisional Judges? The District Collector Magistrates will still have under them 82 Junior Civilians, several among whom will be of the grade of Joint-Magistrates. When we come to the subject of the administration of criminal justice, we shall show, that even this number of assistants is too large for the requirements of the country as well as of the Service. But for the purposes of the present discussion, that point may be left altogether out of consideration.

We have now come to the end of our subject. It was our intention to discuss the question of the reforms that could be introduced in the High Court, by abolishing the Original Side thereof. But as that question has already been taken up by the Finance Committee, we think it proper to leave it untouched, especially, as the information available to us on the subject is quite meagre compared with what the Finance Committee have embodied in their letter lately addressed to the Registrar of the High Court. But before we conclude we shall give a summary of what has been stated above.

We have shown :—

- (1). That the history of England's administration of civil justice in India is a history of progress.
- (2). That the powers exercised exclusively by the District Judges in certain "Miscellaneous cases," are anomalous, inasmuch as these "Miscellaneous cases" are decided by the County Courts of England, occupying positions similar, and in some respects inferior, to those occupied by the Munsiffs in this country.
- (3). That in the opinion of several of the District Judges, the trial by them of certain of the "Miscellaneous cases" is attended with great hardship to the suitors, and much loss of the valuable time of the Judges.
- (4). That the Original cases decided by the District Judges form a small fraction of the total number of such cases, and that the Subordinate Judges who do the bulk of the Original work, should also do this small remaining fraction of it.
- (5). That the District Judges should also be relieved of the work of trying appeals from the orders of the Munsiffs, as the greater portion of such appeals is already tried by the Subordinate Judges, who should try them all—the appeal results of the High Court showing that the Subordinate Judges do their work as well as the District Judges.
- (6.) That on being relieved of their "Original," "Miscellaneous" and "Appellate" works in the manner pointed out as above, the District Judges could do twice as much of the criminal work, and of the remaining civil work as they do at present.
- (7.) That the return of the works done by the District Judges published in the High Court's Reports shows that very great inequalities at present exist as to their amounts.
- (8.) That the best plan of meeting the requirements of the different districts would be to have *Divisional* instead of *District* Judges.
- (9.) That such an arrangement would result in a large saving to the expenditure, by reducing half the present number of the District Judges.
- (10.) That the Divisional Judges should have Junior Members of the Covenanted Civil Service as Assistants under them, in each district, who would remain in charge of the District Office and try both civil and criminal cases.
- (11.) That this mode of training the Junior Members of the Civil Service in judicial work, would be a decided improvement upon the present system which has been declared a failure by the High Court.
- (12.) That the above arrangement of placing an Assistant under the Divisional Judges in each district could be carried

out without any increase in the present staff of Covenanted Assistants.

In conclusion, we beg to state, that in making the above proposals, we have been fettered by the consideration that Government was not prepared to accept any scheme for judicial reform which was not consistent with the rules under which, none but a member of the Covenanted Civil Service could be appointed a District Judge. Had Government not had to make its selections of Judges from among the Civil Service, the best plan would have been to make appointments to Judgeships from the Subordinate Judicial Service or from the bar as in England. But the day seems to be distant when England will introduce in India the reforms she has adopted, in this direction, at Home.

PARBATI CHURN ROY, B.A.

DARJEELING, }
July 3, 1886. }

ART. VIII.—BENGAL EUROPEAN SCHOOL CODE.

LOCAL Governments in India have always spent a good deal of money on matters of education, and a part of this has gone for what is called "European education in India." I shall leave it to others to discuss whether this is a right expenditure, whether the proper amount of money has been so expended, whether the whole amount or the European fraction has been hitherto disbursed in the right directions. However fascinating these subjects, I shall content myself with the fact of an existing expenditure in the maintenance of institutions for European education in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and hope to show how that expenditure can be directed so as to secure the best results.

A distinction is popularly drawn between Native and European schools. This differs somewhat from the Departmental distinction as expressed in the opening paragraphs of the Code, in which an attempt is made to restrict the term European to a very undefinable class. Now there is no reason for such a restriction. The real difference between European and Native schools is, that in the former the work is done by the medium of European languages and in European lines of thought, and in the latter by the medium of a Vernacular and in accordance with local notions. There is no reason why those natives and such foreigners as Armenians, Greeks, and Burmese, who have cast off their national characteristics and are distinctly European in their "habits and modes of life," should not be thought worthy of a place in a European school. On the other hand there is no way of excluding from such schools the many natives who have not attained and never will attain to European habits and ways of life, but who immediately assume an English or a Biblical name and a European costume on being admitted to the Roman Catholic form of Christianity. Practically, therefore, a European school is open to Christians of all races, denominations, and stations. To quote the words of the only European school magazine in Bengal, "It includes those who are friendly sojourners, brought hither from the far West by the work of the world and of God, who, having at first been mere birds of passage, have eventually made India their home,—and those who draw from two nations the best qualities of both,—and the many Christians who, centering to 'the market-place of the East,' have their ancestral homes in the Isles of Greece, or Armenia's happy vales, or Afric's sands, or China's crowded shores,—and those who have risen from India's coral strand, and Ceylon's Isle to be a standing monument of the

zeal of Western workers and the intelligence and courage of Eastern thinkers,—all who are bound together by a common Government, a common religion, a common language, and a common home." Seeing that this is the case, the first suggestion that comes up with regard to the Bengal European School Code is, that it should apply to the whole of the complex community described in the last sentence.* The *jat* system is far too common in India, not among natives only, and if Government is to advance the prosperity of the European section of the people of India, it must remove this great hindrance to unity of feeling and purpose. The only effectual way of doing this is by recognising no distinctions in Government orders, and the beginning in this direction can best be made in the schools provided for the community.

Schools receiving Government aid must necessarily be placed under Government inspection, and the grants must depend on "the attendance and proficiency of the scholars, the qualifications of the teachers, and the state of the schools." But the arrangements made by Government for the inspection of the aided schools, are at present by no means such as to secure the right distribution of the grants. It shall be the main purpose of this article to show how Government can best ascertain the state of each school requesting aid. But before this point can be reached, it is necessary to show how the Code falls short in its estimation of a good school.

In the first place, the curriculum of studies is quite unsatisfactorily arranged. There are too many standards. The work could easily be divided into six standards, so as to lead quite up to the Entrance Examination. Such an arrangement has actually been worked in two of the largest schools in the Presidency, and the chief differences made are indicated in the following paragraphs.

(a) It is very strange to find gentlemen of the highest intelligence advocating that numeration and notation should be taught in the first standard. It can only be accounted for by supposing that they have never taught young children themselves or have not courage enough to stand by their convictions. All those who have had anything practical to do with the matter know that to try to teach little ones "units, tens, hundreds," and all the rest of it is to treat them to "a jingling noise of sounds unknown," and not only criminally wastes their time, but clouds their perception and gives them a distaste for calculation. "Arithmetic is the stumbling block of the first standard," says the last Scotch Educational Blue Book. "It is, perhaps, the least valuable, as it is confessedly the most

* Hereafter in this article the word European will be used in this sense.

irksome requirement of the Code. It is forcing a faculty of later development to the comparative neglect of linguistic and other imitative powers which are in full play. "It is vain" says Mr. Sully in his *Outlines of Psychology*, "to try to cultivate the power of abstraction before the powers of observation (perception) and imagination have reached a certain degree of strength. This self-evident proposition is one of the best accepted principles in the modern theory of education, though there is reason to apprehend that it is still frequently violated in practice. child-nature solves the question in its own unerring fashion. Children of the better classes, instead of an empirical programme, follow in their earliest years the dictates of their own sweet will, yet they never lisp in arithmetical numbers; they eschew that which is abstract, but read and run through a whole library of juvenile literature." This standard should be well practised in the actual addition and subtraction of concrete quantities mentally and by the help of counters, the abacus, and such like means. They might then be taken on to read and write numbers of two, three, or even four digits by constant sight practice, without trying to fathom the mysteries of local value. In the second standard this practice of reading at sight might be extended to numbers of six digits, and the multiplication tables should be introduced after practical application and proof. The third standard might still use only the English and Indian money tables to illustrate the compound rules. Local value might be explained in the fourth standard, together with reduction, measures and multiples, vulgar fractions, and (as appointed in earlier editions of the Code) simple proportion. It seems altogether unreasonable to restrict the fourth standard to addition and subtraction of fractions, seeing that these come naturally after the process of reducing compound and complex fraction to simple ones, which implies familiarity with the ideas of multiplication and division of fractions. Decimal fractions, practice, proportion and interest would then be easily understood in the fifth standard, and the present seventh standard would become the sixth.

(b). The reason why algebra is unsuccessfully taught in the middle school is, that arithmetic is not made an intelligent study in the primary classes. If the latter were worked in arithmetic as we have pointed, why, "algebra being nothing but generalised arithmetic," as our common text-books say, and two years would be quite enough to carry any child to the end of quadratics. Similar remarks apply to geometry. As was done till 1885, the first twenty-six propositions might still be taught in the fifth standard, and the sixth might work to the end of the second book.

(c). There should be no difference made in the standards

required of girls. The English Code has a little courage. It appoints the same work for girls and boys, but promises leniency to the girls. But do women who have to put their knowledge to a practical test find life any easier than men? Why then should girls have light work appointed for them in mathematics in the Bengal Education Code? Girls, it is true, have to find time for needle-work; but boys have also the extra subjects of gymnastics and athletic games, which necessarily take up some of the time that might have been spent over books. There should be a distinct provision made for these in our schools, for at present enough attention is not paid to the "clay-cottages" with whose perfection the success of mind and soul are so intimately connected. Athletics should be made a compulsory subject in boys' school as needle-work is practically in girls. Mrs. Lynn Lynton in the *Fortnightly Review*, recently revived the question of restricting the education of women to domestic occupations, and her strongest argument is that higher education has been found to tell on the physical condition of females. The answer here, of course, is that it has also often told on males, and that the way out of the difficulty is to consider the intellectual and physical constitution of the student before the work is begun and while it is in process.

(d). In the matter of English, the requirements of the Code are too low. Many practical teachers will dissent here, and will wonder how it is possible for more to be got through than at present. The secret is that too much time is spent over the spelling lessons, and the children do not get into the rhythm of the language in the primary class by being made to read and talk to their teacher a great deal more than can now be done, and by the analytical study of sentences from the time they can study at all.* The primary classes should not be tested in spelling, children under the age of nine should be employed in observing, reasoning, and experimenting. The conning of arbitrary and unassociable combinations of letters should not be thought of at this period. Spelling is essentially a matter of memory, and if boys in the primary standards can recognise words at sight and read fluently and intelligently, that is all that should be required of them. I have already dwelt at full length on this subject in these pages, and those of my readers who would like to consider the subject afresh, might turn to pages 277 to 301 of number 154 and pages 165 to 183 of number 157 of this *Review*.

* Ulysses Grant in his *Personal Memoirs*, although with characteristic liberality disclaiming any desire to blame his school, makes the following significant remark in referring to his education:—"Both winters were spent in going over the same old arithmetic, which I knew every word of before, and repeating 'A noun is the name of a thing,' which I had also heard any Georgetown teachers repeat till I had got to believe it."

(e) If it is injurious to burden the minds of young children with arithmetical abstractions and unphonetic spellings, it is no less so to cram them with a host of historical names and dates, but the reading of such a book as Louise Chreighton's *Stories from English History* should be made compulsory in the third and fourth standards, and the originality of the teacher should be put into play to make the scenes described vivid to the young imaginations under treatment. By the time a child has reached the fifth standard, however, a sufficient conception of time should have been formed to secure the remembrance of the sequence of events, and the systematic study of history should be begun, not at first in the earliest periods, as the Code directs, but in the most recent, dynasty by dynasty backwards till the reformation in England, and in the next standard till the "making of England" and the patriarchal age of India. But care should be taken at each step to make the children compare the length of time they are travelling over in history with the periods of their own life, the existence of their schools, &c.

(f). Latin is not cared for in schools aided by Government, and even Entrance students of the Calcutta University are not taught enough Latin to make it a valuable educational instrument, and I have sometimes thought that it would perhaps be best to banish Latin for our schools. The indifference with which the language is treated, is due to the place assigned to it in the Government curriculum, for it is not begun till the fifth standard is reached. The fourth standard has been found to work easily through the regular declensions of nouns and adjectives, so that the fifth finishes the accidence, and the sixth deals with syntax and composition and reads Latin authors. In fact, there is no reason why the third standard should not form an agreeable acquaintance with the sounds and common words of the old classics through the useful medium of Mr. Maddox's cards. These are now published collectively under the title of "Easy Latin Lessons" at Doveton College, Madras. I have tried them myself, and found them just suited to the capabilities of third standard children. By the introduction of Latin into the primary standards, excellent results may be secured in the High School and College.

(g). The distribution of science over the standards is altogether unsatisfactory. It is quite right that no fixed sections should be mentioned for object lessons in the primary standards, because they might be arranged in various ways. But in the upper standards there is not enough work set for a year. There is a choice given between physiology and physics. But it does not appear how the former of these subjects can be at

all adequately dealt with in our class-rooms, since it is quite impossible to work experiments in it, and the knowledge that can be imparted by descriptions and diagrams in such a matter is of little educational and no practical value. All merely verbal teaching in science should be forbidden in the school-room and Government should give special aid here to deserving institutions in fitting them with proper apparatus for scientific experiments. The scientific education that can be given to children before they are of the matriculation standard, is undoubtedly summed up in the word *physics*. Thus division (f) in the science line of the curriculum might stand ; but the work can be done in two years, and in addition the elements of botany could be introduced into the fourth standard, the elements of chemistry into the fifth, and the elements of optics and acoustics into the sixth.

(h). The Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University should be recognised as the test of the seventh standard, but the Inspectors should see that the teaching is in accordance with the science of education and not a mere book-cramming as is too frequently the case. In addition to the work done for the University, chemistry and geometrical drawing should be made compulsory, so as to lighten the work of the eighth standard.

(i). The eighth or final standard of the Code has some very glaring defects. Latin is forbidden, and instead, French, German, or a Vernacular is appointed. This is very unfair to those schools that have been working Latin, with the sanction of the Department, in the earlier standards. The Vernacular should indeed be a compulsory subject, as proposed for all the standards, and the choice should be between Latin, French and German. The geometry work should extend to the end of Euclid's sixth book, and elementary statics and dynamics, with the use of apparatus, should be compulsory. This class should be recognised as the first-year class of a college, and if the management of an institution can bring in any of the University subjects, it should not be prevented. In fact, this liberty should be allowed throughout the schools, provided the work set in the Code be also done efficiently. Domestic economy for girls should be first introduced here, and not in the middle school, because the only subject with which it might be alternated, is political economy. There is no reason why girls should not do *all* the rest of the work appointed for boys, as they do at the University, provided they be not examined in music. If the curriculum include the science subjects mentioned above for the lower standards, there is no reason why the boys should not join the girls in botany here, or, better still, both boys and girls might study botany and chemistry as a combined subject.

Enough has been said on the subject of the curriculum to show that the whole thing needs to be reset. These are not mere theories and fancies. I have personally carried out most part of them and with perfect success, and I am persuaded that the same can be done anywhere.

These changes, though numerous, are not great, and can easily be accomplished ; but there are inconveniences attending the operation of the Code under review that do not seem so easy to remove. They have been very unpleasantly felt, and the necessity of their removal is forcing itself upon Government Departments and schools alike. The first is *the actual want of an Inspector*, and the second *the absence of an examination applying with equal fairness to all schools*. These two are reciprocal. The gentlemen who are called Inspector and Assistant Inspector, are in reality not Inspectors at all, but Examiners. Their time is almost wholly occupied in hurrying from school to school for the annual examinations, and scarcely any time is at their disposal for the actual work of inspection. Now the annual examination is the least important part of the concern of a school. The world seems to have gone mad about examinations, and the work that schools were originally meant for is lost sight of, namely, the important business of securing to pupils a condition of physical, mental and moral health. There is no one to go from school to school at all unexpected times to see that the work of *e-duc-ation* is being conscientiously performed. Volumes might be written to show how great and important a work the Inspector has to do, and, if public money were spent for no other educational purpose than to provide efficient inspection in every conceivable department, I am sure no better expenditure would be possible. What is actually done elsewhere, is shown by the following extract from an article in last year's *Times* :—

"Let us witness a Belgian inspection. The Inspector is Inspector, and not Examiner. It is supremely wise to keep these two functions entirely distinct, for though inspection and examination are complimentary to each other, yet they are essentially different in their nature. *True inspection looks into processes ; examination tests results* ; and by as much as processes are of infinitely higher value than results, by so much is inspection an infinitely higher function than examination. All the Belgian Inspectors' visits are unannounced, and each visit lasts several days. He visits every class, and for the first half hour of the lesson listens to the teaching ; for the second he conducts the lesson himself in the presence of the teacher. As a rule he carries the class one step beyond their present stage, for by the preparedness of the pupils for the reception of new knowledge, it is easy to judge of the effectiveness of the teaching hitherto pursued. At the termination of the whole

inspection, he holds a "conférence" of three or four hours' duration with the whole staff of teachers, pointing out where, in his opinion, good work was being done, and also where there is room for improvement, and shows how such improvement can be effected. Of this visit and conference a detailed and elaborate report is sent to the Ministry, and each teacher is well aware of the strictures or commendations awarded to him in the report. From the records at the Ministry of Education, a *curriculum vitæ* of each teacher is extracted. By such a mode of inspection the teachers gain in knowledge and experience, and the country knows where to look for her best teachers. As for the periodic examinations, they are conducted by a special Examining Commission with the co-operation of the teachers, who have no pecuniary or professional interest whatever in the results. Their salary is fixed, and their reputation and career depend on the Inspector's report. *And the Belgian teacher has a career before him; any teacher may become Inspector, and none but teachers can be Inspectors.* Mr. Germain himself, the highest permanent official in the Ministry, is a former elementary teacher."

This is a system founded on truth and justice. But are our Inspectors in a position to do anything like this? The opposition urges that the Indian system is founded on the English, which has been in working order for some years. But the most intelligent and experienced English Inspectors are themselves of opinion that the Continental plan is the only right one. The following is a report of the evidence lately given by Mr. Matthew Arnold before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales :—

5089. (Chairman) : Will you tell us how the work of inspection is carried out in any of the countries which you have visited? The Inspector has to see that the law is observed, that the school programmes are carried out, and that the teachers do not neglect their work; but he has nothing to do like the examination of the children in the elementary subjects.

5090. Either in France or in Germany, or elsewhere? They have nothing like the examination that we have to go through for the purpose of the grant.

5091. The office of an Inspector is to see that the school is well carried on, and that the law is observed. The school programmes also are very strictly laid down by law there.

5092. More strictly than with us? Yes, the work of each class is laid out on the school plan, which is absolutely binding upon the teachers. This is so in all countries on the continent.

5676. (Chairman) : Will you be good enough to explain to us what, in your opinion, is the effect of paying for education according to results, tested by annual examinations, as at present carried on? I think it injures the instruction.

5677. Would you amplify and illustrate that answer a little, if you please? Naturally the teacher directs his efforts to making each of the children able to perform a certain specific task on the day of examination

in the three subjects ; and in my opinion that is not the best way to teach children.

5678. You think that he does it with the express purpose of getting money ? His object is to pass as many children as possible in the examination.

5679. And you think that that has a bad effect upon the teachers ? Yes, the teacher is not led to put forth his best teaching power, which perhaps, if he was left free, he might put forth.

5680. Do you think it has a bad effect, in the same way, upon the scholars ? The school is not taught, in my opinion, in the most favourable way for developing them and bringing out their powers.

5681. And, in the same way as you hinted yesterday, you think it has a bad effect upon the inspection ? I think so.

5682. What method would you prefer ? I should prefer the method of carefully training the teachers, and then devising a good plan of instruction, and then ascertaining, by inspection, that such a plan was properly carried out.

5683. Not so much by the individual examination of each child, but by the general result of the inspection as a whole ? Yes. Of course a number of children must be examined in any system, but not in the same way as at present, when a prescribed task has to be performed by each child and the payment turn upon that.

5684. Then you would approve of something like the foreign system ? Yes, very much.

5685. And that was more the system under the Minutes of 1846, before the first Code ? It was.

5686. You would rather resort to that system in England than remain as we are ? Yes, I think so. I should like that system with a carefully prepared body of teachers, and with a carefully drawn-up plan of instruction, but we have not that.

5687. Probably you think that the original system under the Minutes of 1846 had not a fair trial, because the teachers were not properly trained at that time ? It was a distinctly better method, I think, but the teachers were not adequately trained.

But the question will immediately be asked, " If the Inspector is not to conduct the annual examination, who is to do it ? " The answer is to be found on the face of a strange circular sent round by order of the Government of India, requesting the opinion of teachers as to the possibility of a general examination of all the schools to be held at certain fixed centres. Government by this suggestion shows that it knows the true solution of the problem, but it has made its circular only disapproving replies by proposing, what it calls, representative examination, i.e., the examining of a few scholars taken indiscriminately from each standard of a school to represent all the children of that standard. Such a proposal need not be argued against, and the sooner it is forgotten the better. Yet a general examination is the only fair written test that can be applied, and the reason why Government proposed taking some instead of all the children of a school is connected with the question of accommodation. Here is the real solution of the whole question, almost worked out for us by Government itself. The separate examination of each school is

not fair, and the time at the disposal of the Inspector is not sufficient for justice to be done to any school at all. Some of the pupils of each school must then come together to certain centres to answer identically the same questions. It will not do to take a few haphazard from each standard of a school, and therefore the best plan is to take three fixed standards to represent each school, *i.e.*, the fourth as the representative of the primary department, the sixth (which according to the division of subjects given above would be doing the work of the present seventh standard) the representative of the middle department, and the eighth of the high. Now it so happens that there is at present an arrangement to examine these very standards for the awarding of certificates and scholarships. This arrangement is independent of the Inspector, and furnishes the means required for the purpose above indicated. Every school asking Government aid should send all the pupils of these standards to the centres to sit to written examinations, and the results of these examinations, together with the University examinations, should help in deciding the claims of a school as well as the bestowal of certificates and scholarships. The other standards should not be examined at all in writing as a final test, but only constantly and carefully inspected to see that good educational work is being done, and that the pupils are being duly trained to pass the annual examinations specified. This will have the additional advantage of saving infants from the scowl of the teacher who is in constant dread of a failure, and the work of teacher, pupil, and Inspector will be less strained, and therefore more agreeable, and therefore more successful.

The arrangements for these examinations are already all but perfect. There are only a few suggestions to be made. First, of course, the subjects mentioned in the new curriculum should be provided for, and the marks re-arranged as follows :—

PRIMARY SCHOLARSHIP.

EXISTING SCALE.			PROPOSED SCALE.		
English Language and Grammar ... 200	}	250	1. English	Lang. 250	300
Ditto Dictation ... 50			Dict. 50		
Arithmetic . . 150			2. Arithmetic	... 200	
Geography . . 100			3. Geography	.. 100	
Total 500			4. History	... 50	
			5. European Language	... 100	
			6. Vernacular	.. 50	
			7. Science	... 100	
					<hr/>
			Total	900	

MIDDLE SCHOLARSHIP.

English	... 275	1. English Literature 100	
Second Language	... 150	2. " Grammar 100	300
History and Geography	... 175	3. " Composition 100	
Arithmetic	... 175	4. European Lang. Liter. 100	
Math. or Domes. Eco.	... 150	5. " Gram. 100	200
Science	... 75	6. Vernacular Literature	
	Total	7. " Grammar	200
	1,000	8. History "	.. 100
		9. Geography	.. 100
		10. Arithmetic	.. 150
		11. Algebra	.. 75
		12. Geometry	.. 75
		13. Science	100
		Total	1,300

The limit of age should be strictly enforced, or no value will attach to the examinations. Pupils should be considered passed who obtain thirty per cent. in two-thirds the number of subjects, but scholarships should be awarded to passed candidates, according to the aggregate marks obtained. The primary standards should not be made to sit for two subjects, on the same day, because the present arrangement has been found to tell upon the children, and education at the expense of health is a little too dear. It would also be advantageous in every way to hold the examinations in the first fortnight in March, *i.e.*, just before the University examinations, so that institutions that have University classes, may not be inconvenienced by having two distinct sessions. There should be one paper in each of the subjects numbered above, so that the primary and middle examinations would both occupy seven days. The examiners should not be hurried over their work, but should be allowed time enough to do it thoroughly and accurately, and every tenth paper should be filed for a year.

But the claims of a school to Government aid should not be decided solely or even chiefly by the written examinations. The Inspector's reports should have the highest value, because it is by them that the schools are to be compared in the weighty matters of organisation, apparatus, staff, accommodation, morality, and pronunciation. Having all their time at their disposal, the Inspectors should be required to call frequently at every school and always without previous intimation to the school authorities, and should make accurate notes on those important points, having an interview with the teachers on the holiday immediately after each visit, *but writing nothing in the log-books except the dates, times, and periods of the visits.*

The unnatural part of the Inspector's work being removed, they will be able to devote their attention to their proper work. The most important part of this work will be with regard to

the staffs of the schools inspected. A good staff makes a good school. Now what is a good staff? not one that looks well; not one that succeeds under "painful pressure from without" only in cramming pupil-heads with hard things to be disgorged into an examination paper; not an intellectual machinery for the dealing forth of epitomized knowledge: but a body of thoughtful men, who are in sympathy with, and earn the respect and affection of, their pupils, while training them to think and act accurately, and succeed in sending into the world enlightened men and useful citizens.

But what is the departmental estimate of a good teacher? It is divided into two parts, for applicants for certificates are first to have passed certain examinations, and then they are to show "service with credit" if they want these certificates bestowed and allowed. The first is absolutely unnecessary, for if a teacher does serve with credit, it is of no consequence whether he has passed examinations or not. University honours are decorations, and managers of schools may like good teachers to have them for the sake of display. They are also indications that a certain amount of study has been gone through. But symbols should at all times be subordinated to realities. Our schoolmasters are too often bookmen, with little or none of the accuracy in observation and ability to feel for and with and like their pupils that are the chief factors in the making of a good teacher. Old Professor Pillans beautifully says, in his *principles of elementary teaching* :—

"It requires but little reflection to arrive at the conclusion that the power of teaching well is neither a thing that 'comes by nature,' nor at all commensurate with the capacity of *learning*; that a great stock of knowledge affords no proof, scarcely even a presumption, that the possessor has the faculty of skilfully communicating any part of it to young minds. To stoop from the pride of superior attainment; to conceive even the embarrassments that entangle the beginner; to become identified with the feelings and faculties of children; to anticipate and remove the obstacles in their way to elementary knowledge; to curb and regulate their little passions and tempers; and, what is still more difficult, one's own; to awaken and sustain attention, and know when to stop short of fatigue and exhaustion; to lead, by short and easy steps, through a path that to them is a rugged one, bearing them, as it were in arms over the worst of the road, and strewing it with flowers instead of planting it with thorns; to slacken one's own step, in order to keep pace with the pupil, instead of expecting or insisting on gigantic strides from the feebleness of childhood; to do all this is not so entirely a matter of instinct in man that the power may safely be left without culture to its development.

And with regard to other accomplishments not less necessary and yet altogether independent of what a man may know of Greek and Latin, or mathematics, or any other science of the seven—the faculty, I mean, of exciting emulation, encouraging and rewarding industry, inspiring the love of knowledge and of virtue, and so combining and directing the exertions of all in one simultaneous movement, that the whole school shall resemble a piece of fine machinery, all the parts of which conspire to one general effect—which in this case is the production of the largest amount of useful acquirement and virtuous habits; these, I need scarcely say, are qualifications which it is highly desirable every schoolmaster should possess, and which there is very little chance of his ever acquiring without some previous training."

A good teacher need not be " ell-ell-deed " at Oxford or anywhere. " Service with credit " is the only true test. But in what way is the work of a teacher at present judged ? Only by his succeeding in getting a good number of pupils through the Inspector's annual examination. The Inspector has no time to attend to him in any other way. If the arrangements for examination recommended in this article be adopted, the Inspector's most important work will be to see that the teacher teaches well. *Success at the examinations depends mainly on the material that the teacher has to operate upon ;* but if the teacher does all that can be done to guide the intelligent, arouse the lazy, interest the apathetic, and educate the dull, this is all that can be expected of him in the class, and he has served with credit. By his visits, all unannounced, the Inspector will ascertain this, and also whether the teacher possesses the good will of his pupils and has their welfare at heart, whether his influence upon them is healthy—for here, if anywhere, " goodness is a better thing than genius"—and whether he works for love of the work or drudges for the sake of the pay. Only too often men and women take to teaching "to turn a penny" and "as a temporary measure." " Is any man," said Goldsmith, " unfit for any of the professions, he finds his last resource in setting up a school." It is related that M. Stouber, a worthy pastor of Waldbach, in the Bau-de-Roche, on assuming charge of his parish set about reforming the village schools. The principal establishment for the elementary instruction of the district was a miserable cottage where a number of children were crowded together, wild and noisy, and without occupation. The schoolmaster, a withered old man, lay on a little bed, in one corner of the room. The dialogue between Stouber and this functionary is amusing.

" What do you teach the children ? "

" Nothing, Sir. "

" Nothing ? How is that ? "

" Because I know nothing myself. "

" Why, then, were you instituted schoolmaster ? "

" Why, Sir, I had been taking care of the Waldbach pigs for a great number of years, and when I got too old and infirm for that employment, they sent me here to take care of the children. "

There are some in India at the present day who could scarcely give a better explanation of their being in the teaching line. No person should be allowed to teach who does not satisfy the authorities that he is born to the profession, that he would rather teach than do anything else, that he is not at liberty to do anything but teach. This is absolutely necessary ; for, in the words of Eliot's good Rector Gascoigne, " The best angury of a man's success in his profession is that he thinks it the best in the world."

Yet it is undoubtedly true that mere bent is not enough in any profession, and therefore it cannot be enough in this, the most difficult of all professions. Every teacher who has proved himself such, knows that he was not always what he is, that he has learnt much by experience, that he held wrong theories and used unsatisfactory methods till the results declared them inadequate. Now, since good teachers are wanted so urgently and in such large numbers, the wisdom thus gained should be imparted by veterans to beginners. We cannot now afford to let each teacher make himself. We must be quick, and make teachers to supply the fast increasing demand for them. A little training will make a capable man a first-class teacher, which, if left to himself, he would undoubtedly become, but only after years of experiment and failure.

Does the Government Code furnish us with any means of making teachers ? It has two methods to propose, the pupil-teacher system and training colleges. But all the pages devoted to these subjects are as good as waste paper. They go entirely in the wrong direction to look for the means required. I have seen the pupil-teacher system tried in two of the largest schools in the North-West Provinces and in one of the largest schools in Calcutta, and consider that all these experiments have been complete failures, as they have been proved by their discontinuance. The feeling against the system is fast gaining ground in England. Mr. George Ricks, senior Inspector to the London School Board, in his last report makes the following remarks on it :—

" In the *first* place the system does not provide even a fairly liberal education for its members. Within the very limited time devoted to their instruction, the majority of the pupil-teachers cannot, and do not, reach a standard of efficiency at all commensurate with the responsible duties they are called

upon to undertake as teachers of the young. In the *second* place, *the system errs in assuming that the passing of an examination makes a teacher*,—in other words, that boys and girls of fourteen or fifteen years of age possess that knowledge, moral influence, and teaching power necessary for "training and developing the minds of children, which can only be acquired by study and long practice. In the *third* place, the pupil-teacher is kept at work in the school-room during so many hours of the day, that the little time left for study and self-improvement cannot be used to advantage."

This Inspector evidently knows what he is writing about, and he is not alone in his opinion. If we want good teachers, we must not hamper them with cramming themselves. This invariably makes them irritable, and spoils their chances of ever becoming of use in the class-room.

Nor is the device of a training college for teachers, although at present very popular with a certain class of writers in England, calculated to secure us valuable educators. It is unnecessary to say that tuition in education without the opportunity of putting the lessons to a practical test, is absurd. This, the Department has felt, and to get out of the difficulty, a training is said to include "a practising school, in which candidates may learn their profession." This is an old French plan, and although the French declare that it does very well, and it has been adopted in a modified form in the Prussian pedagogic institutions, it has been found a failure in England. It certainly seems a waste of expenditure to maintain schools specially for beginners to experiment in, when they can utilise schools already in existence in the proper way.

What should be done then? How shall we train our teachers? In the same way that we train our civil and mechanical engineers, that is, by letting them see the work of masters and imitate it under their supervision. Let the experienced hand be ready to save the work before inexperience spoils it, and on the spot as well as afterwards let the defects be pointed out to the apprentice. This can only be done in an actual, healthy, working school. One who wishes to become a good teacher, will find that his work is not satisfactory at the outset, and that his service does not count for credit. He will then of necessity apprentice himself to a veteran preceptor, and at first simply attend and watch him in all departments of his work, and observe what he does and how he does it. After a while he will be allowed to try the work himself with the veteran at his elbow to prevent the pupils from suffering for any possible mistake, and to take note of the imperfections of the beginner and dilate upon them by and by, adapting his remarks to the circumstances. In this

way the tyro will soon gain confidence, and become in a short time a reliable teacher, if there is any talent in him for the profession. If there is not, his chief will tell him so, and he will go elsewhere, perhaps to the desk, or the workshop, or the pigs. It is such a teacher-pupil system that alone can make a good teacher in a short time. Every educational institution should have some of these educational students or teachership apprentices. The department should take no notice of them as such. When they are trusted to teach by themselves, they should be closely watched, and if they acquitted themselves well, their service should be considered "with credit" though they pass not a single written test. A certificate thus earned, saying that the holder *knows to teach*, would be a valuable *brevet de capacité*.

Besides taking care that schools are furnished with good educators, the Inspectors should attend to the apparatus and equipment. Every subject should have its appropriate appliances, or the subject should not be taken up. Every Inspector knows that a school teaching botany must have its own garden, and so on.

A point that Inspectors cannot be too particular about in India, is the English *pronunciation* and idiom of the pupils. It is not easy to provide against the difficulties incidental to bilingualists all the world over, but if Inspectors were to insist on accuracy in these particulars at all the visits, teachers would get into the habit of setting their pupils right, and would not pass unchecked such expressions as "There is no *place* here" and "Here is *run* boy's penknife."

The important chapter on boarding schools calls for a few remarks. In England boarding schools played for centuries the most important part in the matter of education. But there is not the least doubt that they have not the same place in the educational system of England at the present day. The chief cause of this is the establishment of a general system of national education, resulting in the opening of respectable schools in every city and town, and almost every village and parish. In spite of all that has been said by the interested, people have begun to feel that a boarding school cannot supply all the advantages that exist in a small and well regulated household. But old notions do not die easily, and effete European notions when imported into India seem to acquire a new persistency in living. The opening of large boarding schools in India may, however, be in a measure accounted for. Just as in England formerly the want of good local schools made all parents who could afford it send their children far from home to Eton, Harrow, or Ruby, so in India at the present day boarding schools are a necessity, because so many hundreds

of Christain men have to work in districts where they are units among thousands of natives and have therefore no schools provided for their children in the neighbourhood of their homes. They have, then, to send them to boarding schools, which have always drawn the great majority of their pupils from this class. Since this is the case, Government should help to maintain *efficient* boarding schools, and should allow none to exist that do not show first class arrangements for the feeding, housing, and training of children. The fees should be placed very high, and those who must send their children as boarders should be helped by Government to pay the fees when their means are limited, while on the other hand, to prevent overcrowding in these schools, those parents who have a day-school in their neighbourhood, should be prevented from sending their children away from home. It is very difficult to keep a school in the plains healthy, and therefore these Government-aided boarding schools should all be in the hills. Small boarding schools, with fees sufficient to cover their expenses, will continue to exist in the plains. These are generally excellent establishments and furnish all the comforts and advantages of homes ; they do not ask and should not receive help from Government. Against these there is nothing to be said ; but Government should interfere when an institution is found receiving large numbers in small accommodations, under-feeding them, and leaving them to the care of a few inexperienced under-tutors with no supervision of their conduct and no effort to make them happy. Such places are treasons against the public weal, and the Department should have power to order them to close. The Government-aided hill schools should be placed under a specially qualified Medical Inspector. Since last year the Code provides that "the Inspector may call upon the Civil Surgeon to furnish him with a report upon the sanitary arrangements of the school. This is not satisfactory since medical officers may differ widely in their estimate of the requirements of boarding schools. In order to rank the schools in order of excellence, one officer should be paid specially to visit all the schools frequently and without notice. This will be an expensive arrangement ; but there will be money enough for it if the grants be withdrawn from schools in the plains where a large boarding school is an undeniable mistake. An aided boarding school should have a large staff of resident masters, at least one for every ten boys, besides the Superintendent. These should be carefully selected, and if they are found suitable, every effort should be made to prevent their ever leaving the establishment. The great drawback in the boarding schools for boys in India is undoubtedly the constant change of resident masters. There is no sympathy between

them and the boys during their short stay, and no influence whatever is exercised. The lads have their own thoughts and follow the bent of their natural feelings. Purity is as a rule impossible, and I have heard a parent say that he would rather have his children die than put them into a boarding school. But with a proper number of permanent masters of the right stamp, this state of things could not exist. In America there are societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, and the time seems to have come for a similar association to be established in India. It would find lots of work in the boarding school alone.

The imperfections of the Bengal European School Code have troubled teachers very much; but nothing has till now been said publicly about the matter. Schoolmasters are, as a rule, long suffering, or perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say, that they have thought with Whitefield that "it is best not to dispute where there is no probability of convincing." But the number of schools is fast increasing—there are 57 inspected schools in Lower Bengal alone—and it is time to speak now. If Government will follow the advice offered in this article, it will do much towards improving the condition of the European inhabitants of India.

G. S. GASPER.

ART. IX.—YUNAN.

<i>Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine</i>	...	Garnier.
<i>Across Chrysé</i>	...	Colquhoun.
<i>Travels and researches in Western China</i>	...	Baber.
<i>The Journey of Augustus Margery.</i>		
<i>Grosvenor mission through Western Yunan.</i>		
<i>The River of Golden Sand</i>	..	Gill.

YUNAN, about which I now propose to write, is the South-eastern Province of the Chinese Empire, but its indigenous inhabitants are Chinese, neither in tastes, feelings or religion. It has been the scene of internecine strife for many centuries, and is still suffering from the effects of the "Panthalay Rebellion" which lasted from 1862 till 1876.

Something about Yunan ought certainly to interest the general public, as it is through this province that we now hope to open trade relations with Central China. True, a buffer still exists between the two mighty engines : it consists of wild Shan hill tribes without organisation or regular Government, who, at no very distant date, must inevitably merge into one or the other of their all-powerful neighbours.

As regards its position, physical features, &c., Mr. Colquhoun writes : "The Province of Yunan is the most south-western of all the provinces of China. It forms an extensive, uneven highland plateau in which the main ranges have a trend north and south. Between these ranges, which vary in height from twelve to seventeen thousand feet in the north, to seven or eight in the south, are numerous deep defiles through which run some of the largest rivers in Indo-China. Amongst these the most notable are the Mekong or Cambodia, the Salween, and the Shewéli. There are lakes of considerable extent. Fertile plains and valleys are numerous.

" In the north the country is wild, broken, and almost uninhabitable on account of heavy mists, fogs and rains. In the tangle of mountains there are few valleys to arrest the eye ; the population is wretchedly poor and sparse, living chiefly on maize, for the country is too mountainous for the production of rice. The south and south-west are altogether different. The mountain ranges which in the north and north-west rise above the snow line ; towards the southern borders subside greatly, and give place to undulating tracts and plains which increase in their extent and level character towards the Gulf of Siam.

" The country at first presents to the untrained eye the appearance of a confused sea of mountains, amongst which it is

hard to detect any general trend of the ranges or the existence of table-lands, but a more intimate acquaintance shows, that the leading or main ranges have one fixed bearing, namely, north and south. From east to west mountain ranges are crossed, but between these lie large plateaux and valleys parallel to the main ranges, and contiguous to these are smaller valleys and plateaux. The climate of the south is very different from that of the north. The season of the rains lasts for three or four months, from the end of May till the middle of September, but the monsoon is not heavy. In the dry season a steady breeze prevails except in the lowest valleys. The temperature may be characterised as agreeable and healthy."

Garnier, Gill and Baber, who directed their researches more to the northern portion of this province, do not describe Northern Yunan and Ssü-ch'uan as being so hopelessly barren and unfertile as this. Gill talks of "smiling Ssü-ch'uan," and says the wild mountaineers of this country are content and well to do. The poverty which existed at the time of his visit, 1878, he attributes mainly to the effects of the rebellion of the Pan-thays or Mahomedan Yunanese which lasted from 1862 to 1876.

Colonel Yules's description of the physical geography of Ssü-ch'uan and Yunan is somewhat picturesque : "The great plateau of Thibet" he says "here (at Ta Chien) droops southward as far as lat. 23° , and below that sends out a great buttress or lower terrace, still ranging 6,000 feet and upwards above the sea, which embraces, roughly speaking, nearly the whole of Yunan. In the descent from the higher to the lower terrace, and for a long distance both above and below the zone of most southern declivity, this region of the earth's crust seems in a remote age to have been cracked and split by huge rents or fissures all running parallel to one another from north to south : for, not only the valleys of those great rivers of which we have said so much, but the gorges of their tributary streams exhibit this parallelism."

The upper waters of the great Yang-Tsü-Chaing which takes its rise almost as far west as Calcutta, rushes through one of these mighty gorges on its way to the Pacific. Unlike its lesser brethren, the Irrawaddy, the Salween and the Mekong, it turns eastward in the neighbourhood of Yunan-fu? In this portion of its course it is called the Kinsa or Chin-sha-Chaing which Captain Gill interprets as "the River of Golden Sand."

As regards the history and populations of Yunan, Garnier and Colonel Yule, in their introduction to Gill's work, are the only authorities that have gone into the subject at all thoroughly. It would appear from the former's elaborate volumes that, on the fall of the Han dynasty, during the second century, the Chinese Empire was broken up into three kingdoms. The

western one comprehended the provinces of Chen-si, Siü-Ch'uan and D'y-tchou. The Emperor Heou-tchou gave the Government of this last province to Prince Tchou-Konolang of which Yunan was the capital.

This part of the country was then, as now, composed of diverse races, and rebellion and troubles followed. The original Mongols of the mountains were driven northwards and founded new States. It was during the third century that the Lao-tian principalities were formed in North China, and in the seventh century there were no less than six in Yunan alone, and it was as much as the central authority at Pekin could do to keep them in order. About the ninth century internecine strife in the heart of China was taken advantage of by these tribes to shake themselves clear of the celestial yoke; but in the following century a Chinese army overran the country and subdued it. This was accomplished with no small difficulty, but the real difficulty which presented itself to the Pekin authorities, was to govern the conquered people.

"In 1319," says Garnier, "in spite of the administrative reforms of the Yuens in the province of Yünan, the people of this province proved so difficult to govern, that the Court at Pekin allowed them to elect their own chiefs." This system, however, was short lived; and after a few years the country had to be conquered over again. During the fifteenth century constant wars desolated Yunan, and it was not till 1448 that this province finally resigned itself to the domination of the Chinese.

As regards the origin of the Mahomedans of Yunan, I am unable to give any reliable information. The romantic and delightful theory that they are the descendants of an army sent thither by Genjhis Khan finds few supporters. Yule says they are as much Shan as Chinese in blood, and other writers seem to agree, that excepting their abhorrence of pork, they have none of the characteristics of the followers of the prophet. Baber tells us that they are precisely the same race as their Confucian or Buddhist countrymen, that they never practice circumcision, that they do not observe the sabbath, are not acquainted with the language of Islam, do not turn towards Mecca in prayer, and possess none of the fire-and-sword principles of propaganda. Whatever their origin may be, it is certain that they hate both John Chinaman and Jack Burman most cordially, and would hail with delight an eastern tide of British conquest.

About three months ago, when the dacoit movement was at its height, a large caravan of Yuanese traders arrived after dark on the opposite bank of the Sittang to Toungoo. Their appearance soon cleared the neighbouring villages, and news was brought across the river that a large band

of dacoits, fully armed, had taken up a position on the left bank. Luckily Colonel Hughes, the Deputy Commissioner, was not a very scary individual, and before ordering out the troops, he sent reliable messengers to reconnoitre the enemy's position. The messengers reported that the dacoits were there right enough, two hundred in number, with three hundred mules. As a bag of rice tied round the loins is the only impedimenta of the most luxurious dacoit, the Commissioner concluded that they must be traders, and gave no alarm to the military authorities. Early next morning a party of these travellers from afar arrived in cantonment and proceeded to take stock of everything and every body. Their manner was fearless, cordial and cheery. They said they had passed through many dangers during their journey from Tali-fu, but that now they knew they were safe under British protection.

We paid them a visit in their camp a day or two afterwards, and as I had then commenced to collect information about Yunan, I fear I pumped the head boss most unmercifully. Their interpreter spoke Burmese only, so poor Colonel Hughes had to translate for my edification. The interpreter had an Arab face, and an acute and intelligent look. He said he, and almost all the caravan, were Mahomedans. They had, on previous years, been in the habit of going to Mandalay, but hearing of the war, were afraid to take that route. They had come to load up their mules with English goods, and had brought some twenty thousand rupees in cash for payment. A more heterogenous crowd I never beheld. There was the thorough going opium eating Chinaman of the great cities ; there was the Tartar, flat-nosed, narrow eyed and thick legged ; there was the tall and fair skinned Panthay, the black and swarthy Shan—all were sturdy, powerful fellows, with muscular limbs, and devil-may-care fearless expressions. They all crowded round our little party and examined us minutely though by no means rudely. Many of them looked for the first time into the frank and fearless eyes of Englishmen and saw nothing to displease them there. They appeared much interested at the sight of the one lady who had joined our party, and regarded her, from a respectful distance, with undisguised admiration.

We can picture to ourselves these wild mountaineers returned to their wives and their little ones midst the snows of Seü-ch'uan relating the story of their travels to the banks of the Irrawaddy. How they had seen and talked with the subjects of the Great White Queen ; how the men were friendly and frank and honest in their dealings, and how the women were *all* tall and graceful and gentle voiced and soft eyed. The mules of this caravan, although they had been on the

march for many weeks, were all in excellent condition. There was not one sore back amongst them. The pack saddles were kept on entirely by balance, there being no girths, and were prevented from getting too far forward by a species of kicking straps which passed round the animals flanks. To every division of mules there was an appointed leader selected generally for his size and strength. His head was profusely adorned with feathers and ornaments, not forgetting, as Gill remarked on a similar caravan, a bit of looking glass in the centre of his forehead. Bells were slung round his neck which tinkled merrily as he trotted along. We saw a couple of these beasts loaded. The load being carefully balanced, was flopped on to his back in an instant, and no amount of kicking and backing on his part moved it an inch.

The various tribes which inhabit the western frontier of China, are classed by the Chinese writers as Lolo Man-tyū, Sifan and Thibetan, but these are for the most part north of Yunan. Even Colonel Yule, the most intelligent and patient of living ethnographers, is shy of giving his opinion about the peoples of these regions, in consequence of the want of material to go on, and different travellers propound their own theories on the subject. In Southern Yunan, Colquhoun talks of Lolas, Yeou-jens, Pou-las and Pais, each tribe having a distinguishing dress. The women, he says, are in many cases very good looking, with straight noses and fair faces. The ladies, like the Burmese, Shans, &c., are allowed to do pretty much as they please and are not bullied and crushed. The report of gallantry towards the poor little things on the part of their lovers is not, however, verified by Colquhoun's researches. "On asking an old gentleman," he says, "for information regarding the Lolo custom of tree-climbing undergone by the bridegroom to gain his bride, the old cynic smiled, shook his head and said—"There is no such custom here. our young men would not take the trouble: they get their wives easier than that." What all travellers remark on, and what is strangely conspicuous in this, and throughout the whole Indo-Chinese States, is how little the Chinese appear to have inter-bred with the aboriginal tribes.

In the absence of their own countrywomen, the Chinese condescend to ally themselves with ladies of alien races, but never intermix with their relations. There is always a Chinese quarter to every town in Burma. The male progeny follow in the steps of their sires and are Chinamen to the backbone, but the poor little girls are not very highly regarded. Agriculture in Yunan has never been much developed. The crops consist principally of rice, as elsewhere in the East. In the north buckwheat is grown in considerable quantities;

also maize, sugar, tea, and tobacco in small quantities. The southern and western portion is, however, most rich and fruitful. The plains are thickly populated, and rice, maize, peas, beans, opium, tobacco and sugar are cultivated. In the beautiful valleys abound many English fruits and flowers, such as apples, pears, plums, peaches, chestnuts, roses, rhododendrons and camelias of great variety and beauty. Quite one-third of the land under cultivation is devoted to poppy. In the east and south-east the country is thinly populated and by no means rich and fruitful. The principal towns of Yunan have been visited by a variety of European travellers from the time of Marco Polo to that of the brave and adventurous but ill-fated Captain Gill.

Yunan-fu, the capital, is situated in the centre of the north-east portion of the province, on the northern shores of the great sheet of water known as the Tien-Chi Lake. Although nominally the chief town in Yunan, it is neither rich nor important, a fact which is doubtless due to the sterile and unproductive nature of the surrounding country. The route from Yunan-fu to the town of next importance in Northern Yunan, Tali-fu, is described in Margery's journal as mountainous and difficult to traverse. The hills are covered with pine trees and the population sparse and miserably poor. The city of Tali-fu which is interesting as the seat of power and principal stronghold of the Mahomedan rebels, who kept their old masters the Chinese at bay for fourteen years, lies on the western shores of another extensive lake, thirty miles long and five or six broad. It is said to have been once a rich and populous place but much is now in ruins. Yule is of opinion that its position is strategically important. "It is," he says "a focal point from which many roads converge, and for ages has been the base of operations, military and commercial, from Western China to Burma." Before the tide of Chinese conquest spread so far west, it was the capital of the Shan kingdom.

Mr. Grosvernor, who visited it after Margery's murder, describes the city as picturesquely situated in the midst of a plain three miles in length, "the lake at its feet, the snowy mountains at its back." Like other cities in this country, it is built in squares, the main wall being about five miles round. It is supplied with provisions from the rich valley which lies between the mountains and the lake, while the latter contains an abundance of excellent fish. From Tali-fu, there is a fair road direct on Bamø. The principal towns on this line are Yung-chang-fu, Momein and Manwyne. They are all square towns, and are situated in valleys of more or less fertility. These places are still suffering from the effects of the Panthay rebellion : the population being

poor and sparse, Manwyne is the border town between China and the Shan States. It was the scene of Margery's murder.

In Southern and South-Western Yunan there are many fine towns: Kui-hua may be cited as a typical one in this part of the province. Colquhoun tells us that the streets are paved and broader than in most Chinese cities, that the houses have stone foundations and tiled roofs, and flowers are placed in the windows and doorways. The inhabitants are of diverse races—Lo-los, Yeou-jens, Pou-las and Pais, each with their quaint and original national costume. Linnan, Yuan Kaing and Puesh are all considerable towns, the latter being celebrated for its tea, which is the choicest and most expensive in China.

The mineral wealth of Yunan is universally acknowledged to be immense. Copper is found in large quantities in the neighbourhood of Yunan and is sold in the markets of Kouang-tong, Kouang-se, Du-hou-pe, Du-hou-nan and Kong-tcheon. The mine of Uan-pao-chen, furnished in 1870, 271,500 lbs. of copper. Other great copper mines exist in other parts of the province, according to Garnier, 21 in number, some of which are little worked. Silver is also plentiful in the province of Yunan, but the mines are but indifferently worked. Garnier dwells much on the difficulties of discovering the metal and says,

"L'argent est de sa nature un métal tellement secret qu'on ne parvient à le trouver que par de grands travaux."

The principal mines are to be found in the departments of Lin-angan, Ioug-tchouen, Tchoo-tong, Li-kiang, Gun-tchang, Chunning, Tchou-hiong and Tali. Gold has been found in small quantities in some of the river beds of Yunan, which would indicate its presence elsewhere, and Garnier mentions mines at Kin-cha-Kiang, Ma-Kang and Houang-tsao-pa, but no European seems to have been permitted to visit the locality of the precious metal. Lead and iron are found in great quantities in the mountain of Yunan, but the mines are little worked.

Colquhoun informs us that the Chinese officials are not in favor of extensive mining operations, and no mine may be opened without an express edict from the Government. The ostensible reason given for this want of desire to develop the mineral wealth of the country, is the turbulent characters who assemble in the vicinity of new mines, but there is little doubt that it is really due to dread of an influx of Europeans and the international complications arising therefrom.

Let us now approach the important subject of trade in this province. As has been already pointed out, the exports are by no means extensive, and except in the west and south-west little trade is carried on with the outer world. This is mainly due to the

want of proper communications. The wants of the people are great, and they eagerly purchase European goods where opportunity offers. The principal export is opium, which is transported in large quantities to Eastern China. The only import of any importance are cotton goods of European manufacture, which arrive in caravans from Burma through the Shan States, or from the east up the great rivers.

The question of trade routes has been exhaustively gone into by Colquhoun, but has only been lightly touched by the other travellers whose names appear at the head of this article. For many years it was held that the only available route through Burma to Western China was from Bamo, *via* Manwyne to Tali-fu, &c., but recent investigations prove otherwise. Colquhoun points out that there are five trade routes available :

1. By the Yang-tse-tang from Shanghai.
2. By the Canton river from Canton.
3. By the Songca river from the Tonquin gulf.
4. By Bamo route.
5. By some route from British Burma.

The object of his expedition was to penetrate, through the country which lies between south-western Yunan and Moulmein, but circumstances compelled him to abandon this design. He is still convinced that this is the best and most practicable line by which to tap the richest portion of Western China. The itineraries of Baber, Gill and Garnier point to the difficulties of the Bamo line, and the unfeasibility of attempting to construct a railway thereon, firstly, by reason of the physical difficulties to be overcome, and secondly, because of the want of population and the unproductive nature of the country.

The physical difficulties to be faced in constructing a line from the southern portion of British Burma through the Shan country to south-western China would assuredly be formidable, but in Mr. Colquhoun's opinion, by no means unsurmountable ; and by its means communications would be opened with a rich and thickly populated country. But such projects, however feasible, can scarcely, we fear, loom in the immediate future. We must first subdue, bring into order, and civilise our newly acquired province of Upper Burma before we shall have leisure to look to wider fields of enterprise. A railway is always a civilising influence ; it unites rulers and ruled into a common bond of union. The same iron horse whisks them along to their destinations, and puts forth his mighty strength no less for the rapid transit of the poor peasant than for the Judge, the General or the great High Priest. Contiguity engenders mutual confidence, and the wild hillman soon finds that he has nothing to fear from the consequent dwellers in the cities of the plains.

One step further have we gone towards the confines of the Flowery Land. Perched on the highest peaks of the mountains, only a few miles from Bamo, our outposts may fancy they discern to-day the mystic land of China, with its teeming peoples, its mighty cities, its golden temples, its fabulous history, its learning, its wealth, and its power. A step further eastward and John Chinaman and John Bull will shake hands across the rugged line of demarkation which separates the Celestial Empire from the Empire of the Great Queen.

RANGOON ; }
15th June 1886. }

EDMOND C. BROWNE.

ART. X.—THE COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE AND FINANCIAL REFORM IN BENGAL.

ALTHOUGH it is always a risky business to assume the role of a prophet, we venture to foretell a very scant harvest of retrenchment as the result of the labours of the Finance Committee in Bengal. Not that we desire for an instant to depreciate its researches into the ill-understood depths of Indian revenue and expenditure, but we believe that the spending departments have been so pruned down in these provinces during the past five years that further curtailment is impossible, except at the gravest danger to our general administration. We hold that an absolute and entire change in our constitutional policy in India can alone lead to a really appreciable reduction in governmental charges. It is stated that there will be some nibbling at travelling allowances and perhaps a couple of lakhs may be got out of the Education Department. One or two useful offices, such as the Directorship of Agriculture and a Deputy Inspector Generalship of Police are to disappear, but the financial result will be trivial, whilst the resultant irritation must be very considerable. There is much that is specially regrettable in any further diminution of the Education grant. Now that Government aid to charitable dispensaries has approached the vanishing point, it is doubtful policy to apply retrenchment to the only other fund that represents state benevolence. If the native press assail such a policy with bitterness they will be doing what any other press in the world would do under similar circumstances. The Agricultural Department also owed its birth to a kindly thoughtfulness for the most important and least represented section of our subjects. Its destruction is a step in the same retrograde direction. If any branch of our administration wants persistent and abundant supervision it is the Police. It is scarcely possible that rumour can be right in announcing a serious curtailment of its inspecting staff. We do not blame the Finance Committee for suggesting these retrenchment, if they have done so. They must retrench somewhere and it is believed that they were fully warned not to lay their destroying hands on the very departments and offices that are the chief sources of our extravagance.

Our policy would be very different. Education and the fullest supervision are the bases of it. Even the most cautious of administrators now admit that educated natives, under

proper supervision, are capable of filling posts of great importance. We ourselves take a much higher view of native fitness. There were great Indian administrators and statesmen before the first European set foot on the banks of the Hughli, and we do not believe that the race has been degraded or destroyed by contact with the learning and civilization of the Christian West. We do not intend to enlarge on this opinion, but we would venture to apply the admitted fact, we have stated above, to the Civil Service in Bengal, and to consider the financial results derivable therefrom.

During the past two years three Bengal districts—two being charges of unquestionable importance—have been in the hands of native Civilians to administer. It is not denied that they have discharged the duties of their office with success under the supervision of their respective divisional Commissioners. These gentlemen are men of education and European culture. The true aim of capable administrators and financiers is to increase their number and to employ them widely.

As probably the simplest manner of approaching our subject, we propose to state shortly the system we would introduce, and develop it and perhaps defend it afterwards.

Bengal is divided into eight Commissionerships or sub-provinces, under selected officers of usually twenty-five years service. This division we make the groundwork of our plan. We maintain that, with the immensely improved communications by rail and road we now possess, it is as easy to administer a division from a single centre as formerly it was to administer a district from its head quarters. We propose to withdraw the European officers to the divisional capitals and place native Magistrate-Collectors in charge of a large proportion of the subordinate districts. On our own principles we cannot extend this arrangement to Chota Nagpur, which in the want of communications is as backward as Eastern Bengal was quarter of a century ago. Its application to Behar must also be very limited. Whether our administration is responsible for the unfortunate condition of that province, its lamentable land system and its indigo troubles is not now the question. We need only recognize the fact that, as the governing race, we cannot hand over this fair territory to native officials till we have removed the evils that have grown up under our authority. There are also a few districts, such as Midnapur and Mymensingh, where Government interests are so seriously involved or the present relations of various classes are so critical, that we cannot let them pass from under European management, at least at the present time. The industry and capital of Englishmen have created all that requires administration in Howrah and Darjeeling, and native ambition cannot justly

claim these districts. There are, however, a crowd of districts to which these special considerations do not apply. They are Bakargunj, Balasore, Bankura, Beerbhoom, Bogra, Dinagepur, Joridpur, Gaya, Hughli, Jessore, Khulna, Maldah, Monghyr, Noakhali, Nuddea, Puri, Pubna, Rungpur and Tippera—nineteen districts. To these we would add all the districts around the divisional head quarters, except that of the Presidency, viz., Bhagalpur, Burdwan, Chittagong, Cuttack, Dacca, Patna and Rajshahi. Important as these districts are, the Commissionerate supervision would be so immediate that no reasonable objection could be raised to native administration. We hesitate to include Purneah on account of its difficulty of access from Bhagalpur and the presence of a large European planter element. The latter fact also makes us exclude Jalpaiguri, though this objection could easily be obviated by forming the tea-growing tract into a subdivision, officered by an European and subordinate to Darjeeling. The total result would be that of the forty-one districts, exclusive of Chota Nagpur, subject to the Bengal Government, twenty-six would be in charge of native Magistrate-Collectors and fifteen would continue to be held by members of the Covenanted Civil Service, which would be an entirely European body.

The second condition of our plan is the existence of an abundant supervising staff. It is evident that a single Commissioner would be unable to maintain the requisite control, if he were not largely aided. We would, therefore, allow him, except in Orissa, two Deputy Commissioners, one of the first and one of the second grade : in Orissa one Deputy would suffice. These officers would be visiting and inspecting authorities, whilst in office work we would allow him an Assistant Commissioner. It may probably strike many of our readers that we are too liberal in our allotment of inspecting and supervising officers. And so our plan undoubtedly would be if these important officials were to direct executive administration alone. We propose, also, to make them Sessions Judges. We have always held that the present system, by which the higher ranks of the service is arbitrarily divided into two branches, the criminal powers of one of which is limited to two years imprisonment, whilst those of the other extend to death or penal servitude, is a ludicrous anomaly. Both bodies of officers have had precisely the same training as criminal judges, and no one ever ventured to assert any mental or moral superiority in the judicial service. Not less unreasonable is the authority given the latter officers as exponents of the civil law. They are absolutely without training in it. The great majority of them, when they get their promotion, have as much acquaintance with the intricacies of the Hindu and Muhammedan Civil Law as they

have with the niceties of the Code Napoleon. The Indian Civilian has two great characteristics, great official courage and sound common sense. It always seemed to us that the new fledged civilian judge, when he first sits on the appellate bench, to review the decisions of his native subordinates, many of them highly educated men with a dozen or a score years' experience, shews a degree of daring that almost negatives the possession of the second and higher quality. The sooner the Civil Service gives up attempting to dispense civil law the better. It is a distinctly executive body and should keep to the performance of executive functions, one of which is the administration of criminal justice. A well trained Magistrate will always make a good Sessions Judge, though he may have no knowledge of civil law.

Our proposals may be tabulated as follows :—

DIVISIONS.	COMMISSIONERS.	DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS AND SESSION JUDGES.		ASST. COMMISSIONERS.	MAGISTRATE-COLLECTORS	
		1st Grade.	2nd Grade.		European.	Native.
Rajshahi...	I	I	I	I	2	5
Dacca ...	I	I	I	I	1	3
Patna ...	I	I	I	I	5	2
Presidency	I	I	I	I	2	3
Orissa ...	I	I	O	I	0	3
Burdwan...	I	I	I	I	2	4
Bhagulpur	I	I	I	I	2	3
Chittagong	I	I	I	I	1	3

Add to the above twenty to thirty, say twenty-four Assistant Magistrates for the principal subdivisions and the European district agency would be complete, numbering seventy officers. This number would perhaps have to be increased by some twenty more officers to fill the Secretariat, the Board of Revenue, the Inspector-Generalships of Police, Jails and Registration, the Directorship of Agriculture, the Customs, and a half dozen posts under the Supreme Government in the Account Department, the Post Office and the Imperial Secretariat. We will, however, see further on whether these high officials also may not be capable of very sensible reduction. The European officer known as the head-quarters Joint Magistrate we would do away with entirely, his place being filled by a native officer approaching the grade of a Magistrate-Collector of a district.

We thus obtain a total European executive service of ninety men, all told, whose cost must be estimated next. The salaries we propose are Rs. 3,000 a month for Commissioners, Rs. 2,500 for Deputy Commissioners and Sessions Judges of the

first grade, Rs. 2,000 for similar officers of the second grade, Rs. 1,500 for Magistrate-Collectors of the first grade, seven in number, Rs. 1,200 for similar officers of the second grade, eight in number, Rs. 800 for Assistant Commissioners, and Rs. 500 for Assistant Magistrates who had passed their departmental examinations. We would also increase the pay of the latter officers by Rs. 50 a month after their second year of service, if they received no substantive or acting promotion before then.

We do not forget that it will be necessary to entertain and pay a very considerable body of native officers to fill the posts vacated by the civil service. In the first place there are the twenty-six Magistrate-Collectors, whom we would divide into two grades, paid at Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 1,000 a month respectively. To supply this class of officers and fill the places of the European Joint and Assistant Magistrates of the present time, it would be necessary to entertain about forty-five Native Assistant Magistrates in three grades, paid at Rs. 350, Rs. 450 and Rs. 600 a month.

It remains to consider the constitution of the Judicial Service. As we propose to relieve the District Judge of his criminal jurisdiction there can be no objection to filling all the Judgeships in Bengal with natives. At the same time we must remember that under this system it would be possible to abolish all or most of them, if the old idea of Divisional Civil Court benches were revived, together with a heavy curtailment of High Court Judges. Under present arrangements the civil work of District Judges is almost entirely appellate. The pay of eight High Court Judges, viz. Rs. 3,500 a month, divided between two Divisional Court Judges, one an European barrister on Rs. 2,000, and the other a native lawyer on Rs. 1,500, sitting apart in minor appeals and forming a bench for the more important cases, at each divisional head-quarters, would yield a very much more efficient, rapid, and cheap machinery than the High Court in Calcutta. The remaining seven Judges of the High Court would be amply sufficient for revisional work. It is probable, considering the size of the Patna, Dacca, Rajshahi and Presidency Divisions, that two Judges would not suffice for their civil appellate requirements. It would be safe to keep two extra benches, that is four Judges, who could be deputed to clear off arrears in any of these divisions when they might arise. If such an arrangement were carried out, we believe it would be quite unnecessary to do more than increase, by about ten, the present staff of Subordinate Judges of the first grade. The decisions of the Divisional Civil benches should be final as to questions of fact, points of law only being allowed to be raised on special appeal to the High

Court, which would consist of a Chief Justice, three English barrister and, three native barrister. Judges. The executive service should have no place in the highest civil court. At the same time we would withdraw sessional appeals from the High Court and transfer them to the Divisional Commissioners, except when the question raised was one not of fact or evidence, but exclusively of the construction of the law, and then only in cases reserved and stated by a Commissioner.

It may be urged that we could not get English lawyers for a salary of Rs. 2,000 a month. This we entirely deny. The good average barrister of thirty years of age is rarely in receipt of more than half this income in England, and it is from that class we would draw. However, the great inducements would be the chance of promotion to the High Court and liberal pensions, viz., £ 1,000 a year after fifteen years service as a Divisional Judge and another £ 500 a year after ten years further service in the High Court. In case of shorter service in either grade the pension should be diminished proportionately, fifteen years being the shortest period entitling to pension. An almost certain income of £ 1,500 a year at the age of 55 would be a very powerful attraction. This system would ensure for the High Court not only good judges but also men of wide experience of Bengal. We need hardly say that we would insist on the High Court being recruited from the divisional benches, and would further make the Chief Justiceship attainable only through the Puisne Judgeships of the High Court.

Such is our scheme for the Executive and Judicial Administration of Bengal.

Its financial aspect may be stated as follows : The present establishment and expenditure on the executive side are—

			Annual cost.
15	Magistrate-Collectors of the 1st grade on Rs. 2,250 a month	...	Rs. 4,05,000
15	Magistrate-Collectors of the 2nd grade on Rs. 1,800 a month	...	3 24,000
7	Magistrate-Collectors of the 3rd grade on Rs. 1,500 a month	...	1 20,000
23	Joint-Magistrates 1st grade on Rs. 900 a month	...	2 48,400
12	2nd " " 700	...	1,00 800
90	Assistant Magistrates on Rs. 500 a month	...	5,40,000
			<hr/>
	Total	...	17 38,200

Our proposed expenditure on the Executive Service is—

8	Deputy Commissioners and Sessions Judges of the 1st grade on Rs. 2,500 a month	...	2.40 000
7	Do. do. of the 2nd grade on Rs. 2,000 a month	...	1,68,000
	Carried over Rs.	...	<hr/>
			4,08,000

	Brought forward Rs. ...	4,98,000
7 European Magistrate-Collectors of the 1st grade on Rs 1,500 a month	...	1,26,000
8 Do. do. of the 2nd grade on Rs. 1,200 a month	...	1,15,200
11 Native Magistrate-Collectors of the 1st grade on Rs. 1,200 a month	...	1,58,400
15 Do. do. of the 2nd grade on Rs. 1,000 a month	...	1,80,000
8 Assistant Commissioners on Rs. 800 a month	...	76,800
24 European Assistant Magistrates on Rs 500 a month	...	1,44,000
15 Native Assistant Magistrates of the 1st grade on Rs. 600 a month	...	1,08,000
15 Do. do. of the 2nd grade on Rs. 450 a month	...	81,000
15 Do. do. of the 3rd grade on Rs. 350 a month	...	63,000
		<u>Total 14,60,400</u>

On the Judicial side the existing establishment and cost are :—

14 High Court Judges on Rs. 3,500 a month	...	5,88 000
15 District Judges of the 1st grade on Rs 2,500 a month	...	4,50,000
13 of the 2nd grade on Rs. 2,000 a month ...	...	3,12,000
1 on Rs. 1,200 a month	...	14,400
		<u>Total 13,64,400</u>

We propose—

6 High Court Judges on Rs. 3,500 a month, three being natives	...	2 52 000
12 European Divisional Judges on Rs 2,000 a month ...	...	2,88,000
12 Native ditto on Rs. 1,500 a month ...	...	2,16,000
10 Additional Subordinate Native Judges on Rs. 1,000 a month	...	1,20,000
		<u>Total 8,76,000</u>

Excluding the salaries of the higher officials, whom our scheme does not reach, the present executive and judicial establishments cost Rs. 31,02,600. We propose to reduce this amount to Rs. 23,36,400, a saving of nearly eight lakhs. This sum does not appear a very big one, nor in truth is it, if considered apart from the immense reduction in pensions and furlough charges which would result from our scheme. Few people are aware, or if they are aware, seem to realise the fact, that besides his actual pay, each and every covenanted civilian costs the empire very nearly £1,000 a year for every year of Indian service. His average length of Indian work is 23 years. His average furlough is 4 years, and we are glad to learn that his average length of pensioned life is about 18, which as nearly as possible means, that he draws close on £22,000, besides his Indian pay, during his lifetime. The reduction of the covenanted service from 230, its average strength during the past five years, excluding officers employed in Burmah and Assam, to 90 would

mean a saving of over three millions sterling, which spread over 27 years, the average period, during which the service depletes itself, gives an annual saving of £111,000, or at present exchange, 14½ lakhs a year. The total saving would be 22½ lakhs, and we believe it would be effected side by side with an increased efficiency. The present visiting and inspecting authorities in district work are the eight Commissioners of circuit and revenue, who have not even the aid of an European officer to supervise their minor correspondence during their absence on tour. Our scheme almost quadruples the inspecting staff without the least diminution of district establishments.

Such a plan as we propose would hardly require any serious modification of our present system of government. We would retain every class of executive office and officer now in existence. The boundaries of not a single division, district, or subdivision need be touched. The chain of administrative subordination would not be weakened in a single link. We would only seek to raise and strengthen the office of Commissioner. He is at present, to a large extent, a post office, through which very much work passes upwards, without even his opinion endorsed on it, for the decision of Government, which often necessarily means a Secretariat, officered by his juniors in years and experience. He is, at best, a funnel into which the district reports are poured, in order to their being roughly amalgamated before being laid before the Lieutenant-Governor, a function that might well be performed by an Head Clerk or Junior Secretary. We would make him what he ought to be, a Sub-Governor, possessed of wide powers of final decision. We would limit his appointment in each division to five years, and make every subordinate officer serve five years in the same division. When a Bengal Civilian reaches the grade of Commissioner, he is a man who has completed his service for pension. It would be no hardship to cause him to retire after five years in that grade, unless for the excellence of his administration Government had special reasons for retaining him. It is becoming daily more evident that the administration of Bengal is suffering from two disadvantages in district work—the quasi-permanancy of Commissioners and the endless movements of district officers. Making the Commissionerate a five years appointment would obviate the first difficulty, whilst the restriction of European officers to one Division for five years at a time would go far to secure continuity and uniformity of district administration. The fact of natives manning the majority of districts would also very considerably modify the present vagrant character of Magistrate-Collectors.

There is a good deal of hostile criticism directed against the practise initiated by Lord Lytton, of paying native officers a

lower salary for the same work than Europeans receive. The answer is apparent. The European is paid not only for his work but for leaving his country and his home. A further inducement to residence in the far East is the promise of abundant furlough in order to visit all he has left behind. He is treated like a soldier on foreign service. The native civil official can have no such claim. Like his English brother in the great London offices he should have a fair annual holiday and nothing more. The English civil servant does not know what furlough means ; he gets his Sundays, half a dozen other established holidays, and a month in the year. Considering how very numerous established holidays in Bengal are, especially at the time of the Durga Pujas, the native Magistrate would be justly treated in getting a month's rest in the year, and no furlough except leave on medical certificate. Even then he would have 115 non-working days in the year as against 90 days, on which his English compeer may demit his duties. Native Magistrates would consequently be, to a great extent, fixtures as district officers.

There is a further advantage we claim for our scheme of divisional centralization. We refer to its effect on the *morale* of the covenanted service. We must confess to an uneasy feeling that the Bengal Civilian of the present day is not what he used to be. When he lands in the country he is as fine a young man as any Government could ask for as its servant. Capable and highly educated, honest and hardworking, he is the most fitting and trustworthy instrument of Government that could be bought in any part of the world for the pay he gets. Ten, fifteen or twenty years later—the time varies with different characters and different physiques—how often is the one old characteristic left that of honesty. He first lost his taste for work. Soon the rich education of his youth became a half forgotten memory. And last his capacity to deal with men and things with his old power began to fail him. To any scoffing at our assertion that some of the best men who ever came to India in the Civil Service have fallen to this, we would answer by the very pertinent question, how does it come about that the Indian Governments, both supreme and local, are constantly choosing their Secretaries from the junior ranks of the service? We have often looked about for an explanation of this decadence, and have found only one—the dreary, killing monotony of district life. Of all the careers open to an educated Englishman the least attractive at the present time is that of a Bengal Civilian. We allow that he is fairly paid, amply paid it may be, but there his advantage ends. His salary is at best a set-off against almost certain loss of health, but where is the recompense for the persistent solitude, the social deadness of his life? In former days a district head-quarters

contained a dozen, often a score of European officials, great and small, covenanted and uncovenanted. They and their families formed a society numerous enough to maintain the ordinary habits of English life. To-day how few are the stations in which existence is thus rendered tolerable. The European engineer has disappeared from most ; the European doctor is giving place to a new and able race of native surgeons ; even Assistant Magistrates are few and far between ; the European Deputy Magistrate is still more rarely met with. All this is, in our opinion, as it ought to be. The capable and educated native gentleman has for years back been steadily winning his way to positions of influence and trust. We would be the very last to express any thing but pleasure in the fact. The path has been made straight for the reforms we suggest. When all but a very few Europeans officers have been called into the divisional centres, they will return to the old healthy intercourse. Every European family will be certain of the medical attendance of one of their own race. Officers of all grades will be in daily contact, and every subject of importance can be discussed as well as reported on. The manly exercises that did so much to preserve the health of the old civilians will again be resorted to. The melancholy moss-grown racket courts one sees in so many of the divisional head-quarters, standing unused or crumbling away, will again be tenanted. These little things may seem absurd in an article on Governmental policy and financial reform, but they make up a very large fact in the daily life of our officers. Health and strength of body and mind are the sources of efficient administration and, especially in India, mean much money saved.

We fear that the first objections to our scheme will come from native sources. We will be asked—is this all you have to offer ? Is there still to be a reserved service into which no native of Bengal can enter ? For the present such must be the case. We are propounding a scheme which we hope has some chance of being acceptable to all classes. We propose the utmost that the powerful European community in this country will, by any possibility, acquiesce in. The natives of Bengal have fairly won their way to a large share in district government. They have also established an excellent reputation as civil judges. We propose to move, *pari passu*, with recognized facts. We advocate no experiments, no plunges into the unknown and the unproved. As surely as there are to-day native District Magistrates, so surely in years hence there will be native Commissioners, and when that time comes another step forward will be justified and will be claimed. In a quarter of a century a native Commissioner of Burdwan or Dacca may well be appointed. How these officers are to be introduced

it is now impossible to say. If Bengal can produce the men fitted for these high offices, the very nature of English policy will compel the step in advance to be made. We cannot foretell the manner of these appointments. We are only concerned to find a system of administration for the present time, which will give to natives the posts they have proved themselves capable of filling with success ; a system, also, which can be further developed in the direction of a still larger employment of natives without any need of a complete reconstruction of the governing service. Meanwhile we hope that three High Court Judgeships, twelve Divisional Judgeships, twenty-six District Magistracies, and forty-five Assistant Magistracies, besides ten Additional Subordinate Judgeships on Rs. 1,000 a month will be regarded as a very large field for native ambition.

Objections, not less but probably more vigorous, will come from a certain section of non-official Europeans, men, who delight in fair play except when natives of this country are concerned. Their prejudice is no doubt explicable. They are men who are brought into contact only with the lower classes of native society or with the well-known body of natives of high caste but little income, ill-educated, always striving after small profits or some petty employment, the class that supplies the knavish attorney and the dishonest merchant's clerk. We have as small regard for this body as the educated and cultured native gentleman has. The pitiable thing is, that the non-official European can rarely realise the fact that there are highly educated and cultured native gentlemen in Bengal. He certainly very rarely meets them, and we ourselves admit that they are fewer than could be desired. They are in fact so few that they are seldom found except in Government service or in the higher ranks of the bar. It is our duty, instead of denying their existence, to strain every nerve to increase their number and raise them in the estimation of Europeans and of their own countrymen. They have often undergone a social and domestic martyrdom to place themselves on a level with Englishmen, and there is something inexpressibly mean and contemptible in refusing to give them the hand of kindness and respect in their struggle upwards.

The French say a father of a family is capable of anything, and we quite expect that we will have the old complaint about the closing of a career for English youths levelled at our heads. Ten of us young hopefuls are annually imported into Bengal, clever enough boys for the most part, and probably it is not three months till we have found we have made a sore mistake in choosing a profession. We are certainly told so by our seniors. Admitting, however, that we could not have done better at home, is Government to shut out the just

ambitions of some of the best men amongst sixty millions of our fellow subjects for the sake of this handful of youngsters, who, we have no doubt, would find in England a happier if not quite so lucrative a career.

There are many things to be thought of before such a scheme as we have outlined can be introduced : and first, what is to be done with the existing Civil Service, or rather the 140 superabundant officers in it ? If recruitment at the bottom were greatly reduced, whilst the average ten retirements a year went on, there would be a very marked shrinkage. If ten officers of fifteen years' service were allowed to retire every twelve months on proportionate pensions, the movement would be greatly expedited, not only without pecuniary loss but accompanied by very appreciable pecuniary gain. Such an officer might be expected to live twenty-eight years, ten and eighteen, and would get £600 a year which gives a total pension of £16,800, whilst if he served his whole time and lived the average eighteen years of full service pensioners he would draw £18,000. It is quite true that for ten years some one else would be doing his work, but his substitute would be a native Magistrate on Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,200 a month, whilst the Civilian would be drawing in India Rs. 1,800, or Rs. 2,250. The accumulated difference, averaging about a lakh of rupees in the ten years, would fully cover half the latter's total pension, and, in fact, Government would save, including interest, close on £10,000 on each officer, or 14 lakhs on every ten officers it induced to retire after fifteen years' service. Even in its inception and introduction our scheme would save a very substantial sum to the imperial exchequer. A further financial profit would arise from the fact that native officers would certainly serve many years longer than European ones before they took pension.

We hope Government will not again commit the error it did in 1877 by offering proportionate pensions only to men of upwards of twenty years' service. Although the retardation of promotion was so grievous at that period that the Secretary of State was prepared to allow twenty officers to retire on these conditions, only seven men were found willing to accept £800 a year as pension, when they could get £1,000 a year after five years' further service, during the whole of which time they would be drawing large Indian salaries. If Government, ever at any time, wishes to induce its Civilian servants to retire, it must approach the men on small pay, the juniors and bachelors, who have still life enough left in them to strike into active life at home after their retirement. Moreover, it is the posts of junior and not of senior Civilians that natives of India will be invited to fill, especially at the outest. We

'believe, in fact, that Government would show financial as well as administrative wisdom in permitting retirement on proportionate pensions from every grade of the existing Civil Service.

Another interesting question is the selection and training of Native Civilians. Selection should certainly be by competitive examination in Calcutta, candidates being admitted only from the ranks of university graduates. An university degree is the best stamp of continued and careful education. In India it is also evidence that its possessor is a man of some pecuniary substance, in fact, a member of the comparatively affluent class. The limit of age should be placed high, that is, not less than 22 years and not more than 24. The country would tolerate native boy Magistrates with even less equanimity than it now does their youthful European fellows. Moreover, an almost certain result of adopting a really adult age is that many young Bengalis would complete their preparatory education in England. Those, who did so, would have an undoubted advantage in an examination held in the English language and in branches of learning best taught in England. Once selected we would send the successful candidate to England for two years on a liberal allowance, not less than £400 a year. We would encourage him to proceed to the bar and make civil law his special study, so that if in after years he wished to join the judicial service he could do so whilst still an Assistant Magistrate, and rise through the grade of Subordinate Judge and Divisional Judge to the High Court. It seems to us that under such a training we would quickly develop administrators fit to take charge of the heavier districts, such as Midnapur, Mymensingh and Murshidabad, which we have reserved for Europeans. In order to countervail the attractions of the judicial bench and the pay of Divisional Judges, we would allot a salary of Rs. 1,500 to such selected Native Magistrates. By this means all the districts in Bengal Proper would by degrees pass into native hands. Many of the officers who would hold them would be men who had passed five years in England, and had received almost the best training Europe can give, added to native experience and knowledge of Indian languages, manners and modes of thought.

The acceptance of any scheme withdrawing European civilians from the districts of Bengal would necessarily be followed by very serious changes in other departments. The first service to be effected would be the police, which fortunately can also be treated on the principle of divisional grouping. A single Divisional Superintendent with two assistants subordinate to each Commissioner would be a sufficient inspecting staff. The inspection of all but the most important *thandas* would remain in native hands and, under the supervision of experienced magistrates, this could be very safely done. There

are few examples of the waste of European agency more patent at the present time than the ceaseless inspection of the pettiest police stations by District Superintendents. They would be infinitely better employed in their offices, scrutinizing the cases sent up for trial by their subordinates and in directing enquiry into serious offences. The Divisional Superintendent would be the Commissioner's right hand man in police work, and with his wider survey the better able to guide and check the investigation of the really important crime of the whole division. To his assistants would be left, except in the cold weather, the duty of local inspection. We need hardly say that the adoption of divisional centralization for the police would also result in a large diminution of administrative expenditure.

If the Commissioners of divisions were to be endowed with the wide powers that are manifestly their right in view of their high position and lengthened standing, there would be marked changes above as well as below them. The Board of Revenue would disappear, or rather be replaced by an extra Secretary to Government. The present Inspector-Generalships of Jails, Police and Registration might also be lumped together in the person of a single officer. He would really be the registrar and statistician of these departments, whose duty it would be to group and compare the decisions and orders of the different Commissioners in order to submit them to the Lieutenant-Governor and thereby secure uniformity of work and procedure. We desire to see the Commissioner placed in the position of the Colonel of a regiment, officered by a fixed staff for five years, with the power of transferring his subordinates and generally doing and deciding all things necessary for the administration of his weighty charge. Bengal is become much too heavy a burden for a single Lieutenant-Governor to bear unless some means are found for distributing his authority, whilst maintaining his supremacy. At the present time practically everything goes up to the Lieutenant-Governor, and, as a matter of fact, he is as physically incapable of passing orders on them all as an English Prime Minister is of doing the work of all the great imperial departments at home. Thus it is that not unfrequently an Assistant Secretary passes final orders on matters referred by venerable Commissioners. It may be true that such matters are not questions of any serious importance, but why refer them at all? If a Commissioner is fit for his high position, he is capable of deciding three-fourths or three-fifths of the points he must now 'send up.' Whilst desiring to fully recognize the value of a body, composed of some of the ablest and most brilliant members of the Civil Service, we must admit that Secretariat Government is not in favour with the Senior Officers. The Secretaries and not the Commissioners are the sub-Governors of the present day

possessed of an undoubted power of final decision. That all orders emanate from the Lieutenant-Governor is now accepted as an administrative fiction. The grouping of a galaxy of sub-Governors in the same place round their chief is an idea contrary to all practise. It is like keeping a number of regimental Colonels within call of the General in command. There would, no doubt, be great unity of action and even unity of thought amongst them, but none the less the proper place for each Colonel is with his regiment. Similarly the sub-Governors should find themselves in the capitals of their sub-provinces. It is almost certain that if the Commissioners were allowed to exercise that share of authority, which is rightfully theirs, the existing Secretariat might be very appreciably diminished in numbers. A third senior Secretary is an addition of quite recent times and is necessary only in consequence of the omnivorous characteristics of the body to which he belongs. He might at least take up the work in the jails, police and registration, which we assigned above to an extra Secretary.

We fear we are developing very destructive tendencies towards the end of our article, but even the Civil Service choice *corps d'élite* though we would make it, cannot be all officers of the staff. The present unwieldy central agency is unavoidable so long as it is attempted to direct the entire work of the province from one centre. If, however, the Divisional Commissioner is to have authority in police affairs, for instance, it can do no good to have an Inspector-General over him. If there is any one, except the Lieutenant-Governor, who can cross-cut his administration in such an important field, it is impossible to hold him responsible for the well-being of his division. Even now there are times when the decisions of these officers clash. The same applies to jails and to matters of revenue. To our thinking it would be better to have a third Deputy Commissioner in each division to superintend these departments, than to maintain the present system of divided power and divided responsibility.

In the present article we have been able to consider only Bengal in detail. We have, however, little doubt, but that the system we have sketched would be largely applicable to Bombay and Madras. The Punjab and Oudh have been too lately brought under British domination, and the difficulties of administration in the North-Western Provinces are admittedly too great to permit of its extension to them in any complete degree. Still we believe that the divisional instead of the district form of Government must be in time accepted in Upper India also. The sooner it is introduced, tested, and improved in the older and more settled provinces, the better for our finances and for our conciliation of educated native opinion.

C. J. O'DONNELL.

ART. XI.—OBSOLETE CRIME IN BENGAL AND ITS MODERN ASPECTS.

WHEN the English Government first undertook the criminal administration of the country, it was at once confronted with a twofold difficulty. It had to adopt a penal system, which although within certain limits, elastic and founded on sound principles, was in some important respects utterly unsuitable for the purposes of the English control. They adopted as a guide the maxim of Burke in his reflections on the French Revolution ; "a true politician always considers how he shall make the most of the existing materials of the country. A disposition to preserve and an ability to improve, taken together, would" he says, "be my standard of a statesman." Although the Mahomedan system of criminal law and punishment was generally uncontaminated with superstitious ingredients, it was at the same time disfigured from an English point of view with numerous rules of evidence and procedure expressly designed to maintain Mahomedan supremacy and mark the disfavor and contempt with which Mahomedan conquerors have invariably regarded the conquered races who have come under their sway. "Parcere subjectis" has never been a Mahomedan motto. The *Hedaya*, the most complete system of Mahomedan jurisprudence extant, is at the same time a political treatise. There is, for instance, a chapter on the "Conquest of Infidels" and another on the Jizyat or Capitation Tax "which the Imam himself imposes as a return for the mercy and forbearance shewn by the Mussulmans towards idolators who are all liable to destruction." If the infidel territory be subdued before the Capitation Tax is established, the inhabitants including their wives and children are all looked upon as plunder and they are reduced to slavery; Arabian idolators and apostates were, however, to be massacred without any alternative unless they embraced Islam. (See Hamilton's *Hedaya*, v. I, p. 213) The gospel of Mahomed was one of the sword, and not of peace.

But although for many years before the assumption of the criminal administration of Bengal by the Company, their aggressiveness had greatly slackened owing to the diminished strength of the empire, their system of evidence although modified as it was by the policy of a decaying empire, was utterly unsuited to a Government which had for its first object the impartial administration of justice. The code of punishments was in many respects equally unfitted for English tribunals.

Many of them were barbarous and cruel ; others were uncertain in their operations. Before its abolition by the introduction of the Penal Code, it had sustained so many alterations by the action of various regulations, that like a Greek palimpsest the fresh enactments had almost taken the place of the original text. As public opinion continually advanced, it demanded changes in the law which were at first sparingly and afterwards more boldly effected by the Legislative Council. In the following pages some account has been given of the difficulties which impeded the administration of justice in the early part of the century, and of certain obsolete crimes and customs which existed in the era of the Regulations, but which have gradually disappeared or assumed a form which does not call for the interference of the Legislature or the criminal tribunals.

The other difficulty which beset the early administration of criminal justice by the English, was the extent to which it was considered necessary or prudent to sanction practices among Hindus which were utterly opposed to the ordinary principles of Western morality. The Government of India has recently enunciated, in a State paper replying to a petition connected with infant marriage and enforced widowhood, the following maxim :—"The British Government in India has usually been guided by a certain general principle. For instance, when caste or custom enjoins a practice which involves a breach of the ordinary criminal law, the State will enforce the law. When caste or custom lays down a rule which is of its nature enforceable in the Civil Courts, but is clearly opposed to morality or public policy, the State will decline to enforce it. When caste or custom lays down a rule which deals with such matters as are usually left to the option of the citizens, and which does not need the aid of Civil or Criminal Courts for its enforcement, State interference is not considered either desirable or expedient." This principle was not, however, recognised in its entirety during the early period of British administration. The early administrators proceeded tentatively and with caution. When a superstitious practice enjoined by custom had been recognized as illegal by Mahomedan law, they also declared it punishable. As an illustration, the Mahomedan Cazis had pronounced the custom of *dhurna* illegal ; and the English Government adopted the same view. The Mahomedan law had never interfered with *Sutti* or the *Charak Puja*, and the British Government remained similarly quiescent. The abolition of customs sanctioned by Hindu public opinion, but revolting to humanity and untouched by Mahomedan law, was the work of time.*

* If Elphinstone (*History of India*, see page 469) is to be relied upon, certain restrictions on Hindu superstitious customs and even

The principle of interfering with practices which involve a violation of the "ordinary criminal law," *i.e.*, the criminal law recognised by Christian countries was not authoritatively laid down or invariably acted upon until much later than the period of which I am writing. Almost at the commencement, however, of any attempts at legislation, a famous minute of Lord Cornwallis in 1790, afterwards adopted by the House of Commons, clearly established the recognition of the power of Government to alter the Mahomedan law whenever its grave defects rendered it desirable, either in its rules of evidence or in its category of punishments. Without encumbering the present paper with technical details which are now only of antiquarian interest and which have no pretence to novelty, it will be convenient briefly to indicate the punishments to which an offender could be sentenced under the Mahomedan law. The first head is that of "kissas" or retaliation, which includes "diyat," or the price of blood. This is the penalty prescribed for heinous offence against the person. The second branch is that of "Hudd," and embraces robbery, theft, drinking wine, adultery and slander of adultery; and in connection with this some of the curious provisions of the Mahomedan law of evidence came into operation. With regard to offences coming under the head of "kissas," witnesses were compelled to state the whole truth when cited by the party concerned, but a witness might give or withhold evidence which tended to the conviction of a Mahomedan for any offence liable to "hudd." The evidence of women was inadmissible in both these classes of offences. The third class of offence is that for which "tazir" and "siasat," *i.e.*, punishment at the discretion of the judge is accorded. "tazir" is defined in Wilson's Glossary as "punishment inflicted at the discretion of the judge with a view to public justice, *i.e.*, in cases where from some impediment or collusion, the legal penalties might be escaped or evaded. . . . They may extend from simple reproof to mutilation and even to death." "Akubat" has very much the same meaning. "Siasat," literally

domestic habits were effected by the Emperor Akbar. Elphinstone observes that he forbade marriage before the age of puberty, and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. "He also permitted widows to marry a second time contrary to the Hindu Law; above all, he positively prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will, and took effectual precautions to ascertain that their resolution was free and uninfluenced." It is, however, incredible that these startling though humane attempts at interference with Hindu domestic customs were ever actually carried out. The prohibition of infant marriage—one of the fundamental principles of Hindu Social life—must, if any serious attempt had been made at enforcing it, have raised such a storm of revolution in Upper India among the fierce Rajputs as would have made the throne of Akbar totter.

administration of justice (see Wilson) is the word used to denote exemplary punishment extending to death.

The extreme rigour of the Mahomedan judicial system of evidence, the numerous special exceptions and scrupulous distinctions which frequently barred a conviction through the existence of some technical defect in the proof, would have rendered the administration of justice impossible but for the existence of what may be described as a parallel code of procedure and punishment which was specially suited to the non-Moslem communities over whom the Mahomedan Government held sway. Thus, for the full legal conviction of a Mahomedan, the evidence of non-Moslem witnesses was not permissible, nor that of women in offences in which the Crown was considered the prosecutor. But though the penalties of "kissas" and "hudd" were thus barred, the difficulties of the case were met by the existence of the more elastic system above specified. The punishment of "tazir" and "siasat" could be inflicted in all cases where the presumption of guilt was strong. Even here, however, there were provisions as to the minimum of evidence required, which could not be brought into harmony with any European system of jurisprudence. Thus, in cases where the Crown prosecuted, the depositions of at least one credible male witness was requisite besides that of the prosecutor, or in those of a private nature, of two men, or one man and two women.

The Mosaic law of retaliation was, under the orthodox system, the guiding principle and measure of punishment. Thus the penalty of death by "kissas" for murder could, under the Mahomedan law, be inflicted by the relative legally entitled to retaliation or by his direction, although a sentence of "kissas" might not actually have been passed by the Cazi. The putting to death of both the guilty parties found in the act of adultery by the husband was justifiable.

The earliest change introduced into the Mahomedan Penal Code was the abolition of the punishment of mutilation.* The cruel punishment of mutilation was enjoined in the Regulations of 1787, and was practised for many years after we were nominally responsible for the Government of the country. Its removal was accomplished by Regulation 9 of 1793, which prescribed that seven years' imprisonment with hard labor should be substituted for a *futwa* of the loss of one limb and fourteen years' imprisonment for a sentence of loss of two limbs. By the same enactment the religious persuasion of a witness was not to operate as rendering him incompetent to testify. This Regulation may be described as the Magna Charta of the native

* Kaye's Administration of the East India Company.

subjects of the East India Company. The preamble gives a summary of the difficulties attending the administration of criminal justice from 1772 to 1790, during which interval Magistrates played a subordinate and indeed humiliating part in the control of crime. The Foujdari or Criminal Courts were still entirely in the hands of the Naib Nazim, and the Mahomedan Superintendents of these Courts had sole authority to try criminals. The duties of English Magistrates were confined to the arrest of offenders. It was not until 1787 that the evils of this system reached a culminating point. It was frequently found that petty offenders and persons charged with assault and other like offences, were detained in jail until they died before their cases were disposed of. By this Regulation, therefore, the magistrates were vested with authority to decide cases involving petty crimes. The English authorities, however, still remained mere passive spectators of the deplorable miscarriages of justice which repeatedly occurred in respect of grave offences. The very zeal with which English magistrates carried out their part of administration in the detection and apprehension of offenders, led to constant scandals in the escape of criminals owing to technical defects in the Mahomedan canons of evidence, or their death in the miserable and rotten jails which then existed before they were brought to trial.

From the date of the constitution of the Nizamat Adalut and the Courts of Circuit, the system was commenced which resulted in the gradual assimilation or combination of the Mahomedan Criminal Law with English jurisprudence, although it was only by degrees that a Criminal Law was evolved which satisfied either common sense or humanity.

Provision was almost from the commencement made for the scandalous system under which the initiatory proceeding in cases of murder was left to the direction of the heirs entitled to prosecute, who, if the price paid was sufficiently large, would often forego their claim. The Nizamat Adalut was also empowered, in 1797, to sentence persons convicted of murder to death, when the heirs either pardoned the murderer or demanded the price of blood in lieu of death. But it was not for some years that the Legislative Council remedied the technical Mahomedan rules as to the individuals entitled to demand "Kissas." For a considerable period acquittals in cases of murder were pronounced by law officers when the heirs were not of sufficiently near relationship to the deceased to demand "Kissas," or where the rules as to retaliation failed, owing to the parties standing in the relation of parent and child, or master and slave.

It was not until 1817 that Brahmins in the Province of Benares were declared liable to the punishment of death from which they had been hitherto exempt. It was not until 1825

that females were exempted from corporal punishment. Lepers were incompetent to testify for many years after the commencement of the century.

Another modification introduced into the laws at an early period, was an enactment prescribing a graduated scale of imprisonment in lieu of fine imposed for "diyat." The price of blood was retained as a penalty in mitigated forms of culpable homicide, but as the Mahomedan law prescribed imprisonment until the fine was paid, it was found that when the offender was unable to pay the sum adjudged, the sentence was practically one of perpetual imprisonment.

It was also found necessary to modify the Mahomedan code of punishments for murder. Nice distinctions were made between various kinds of murder which could not be accepted by any rational system of jurisprudence. Thus, murder by poison and drowning was looked upon as less heinous than murder by deadly weapons, the former offence not rendering the offender liable to death.* The penalty of "kissas" or of retaliation by which death is incurred, attached only to acts done with an instrument which might be used for cutting the throat in the slaughter of animals (see the *Fatáwá-i-Alamgiri*.)

Another strange provision which was ultimately set aside (1801) was the comparative immunity enjoyed under Mahomedan law by a wilful murderer who, in aiming a deadly blow at the individual he intends to kill, accidentally kills another person. This offence was formerly expiable by a fine to be paid to the heirs of the deceased.

The branch of Mahomedan Criminal law which was found most difficult to deal with, was that connected with the law of homicide in defence of the purity of the family and the household. The subject was one of great delicacy, as it affected the relations of the sexes, but nothing can be conceived more

* I append a few illustrations of the whimsical distinctions between the different kinds of homicide which were drawn by Mahomedan lawyers. According to Abu Hanifa, "if a person immerse an infant or an adult in the sea or other place where there is no prospect of escape by swimming, he is not liable to retaliation for wilful murder. So also if the victim be killed by repeated blows with a whip or a stick, or if he be thrown from the roof of a house, or into a well and be killed thereby. A person strangling another is not liable to suffer death unless he has been repeatedly guilty of this offence. According to all authorities if a person starve another to death in a house, he is liable only to corporal punishment and the price of blood, but if the victim be buried alive, the offender is to suffer death in retribution.

The "diyat," or price of blood is, it may be observed, essentially similar in principle to that of the Anglo-Saxon laws, by which a pecuniary penalty was fixed for the lives of men. The Mahomedan law stands, however, on a higher footing, for it recognized the equality of all Mahomedans. Under the Anglo Saxon system, the price was proportionate to the rank of the victims.

subversive of the peace of the community at large, than the extraordinary latitude of crime allowed to the head of a Mahomedan family. Not only was an adulterer or adulteress caught in *flagrante delicto* liable to instant death at the hands of the injured husband who was exempt from all consequent penalty, but this immunity extended to all other domestic relationships. Crimes of deliberation, as well as those committed in the heat of the moment, provided they were in defence of the family honor, were equally held to fall within the province of righteous retribution. The annals of crime in the early years of the present century, present an appalling picture of violence which the British Government were at that time powerless to touch. Jealousy, whether well founded or unfounded, was a complete justificatory plea. The Mahomedan law officers were, for a time, masters of the position. The most bloodthirsty murders committed by heads of families on mere suspicion, and after long deliberation, in defence not only of their own marriage bed, but of that of their widowed sisters, daughters and even more distant, relations were declared justifiable, and the offender was either acquitted altogether, or was allowed to purchase immunity by a money indemnity to the heirs.

The position of the Government was, no doubt, at this time, a difficult one. The sanctity of the family was an element of Mahomedan life which predominated the whole of their system of law. At the same time the English Penal Code had only recently emerged from barbarism. The Statute book was still disgraced by many relics of the Draconian severity which it formerly dealt out to offenders against property. It was not so very long since the repeal of the Statute by which women were liable to be buried alive in England for the offence of passing counterfeit coin. Notwithstanding these considerations, the legislative body cannot be acquitted of want of statesmanship and courage in not earlier grappling with some of the more flagrant defects of Mahomedan jurisprudence. In several instances—in this as in others to be alluded to further on,—they failed accurately to gauge the extent to which popular opinion can be guided into healthier channels by legislation. It was not until 1822, that the scandalous crimes above described were unmistakably placed in the category of offences which were punishable by law. By that Act the Judges were empowered to pass a capital sentence in the case of the murder of an individual detected in an intrigue with a member of the household irrespective of a *futwa* of the Mahomedan law officers founded on a plea of justification by relationship. The effect of this Act was almost immediately operative. The reports of succeeding years shew a distinct change in the class and degree of crime attributable to jealousy. The reckless and almost indiscriminate murderous attacks no

suspected violators of the family honour nearly disappeared from the records of the Courts of Session, and although loss of life was of course still common from the same " *teterrima causa*" as led to the Trojan war, the ratio of murders from motives of jealousy to those committed from other causes, fell to the normal proportion among civilized communities.

Although the punishment of mutilation was, as I have said above, abolished at the very threshold of English administration of criminal justice and the *lex talionis* was never carried out, one punishment was retained on the statute book and was specially prescribed in a Regulation of 1807, for perjury, forgery and analogous offences, which was endowed with all the picturesqueness which would have commended itself to Bentham. The latter argues in favor of punishment "analogous to the offence." He says (page 377 "Theory of Legislation")—"the punishment will more easily engrave itself on the memory, it will present itself more strongly to the imagination, if it has a resemblance or analogy to the offence, a common character with it;" and he further remarks with regard to ignominious punishments—"Infamy is one of the most salutary ingredients in Penal Pharmacy," p. 349.

The punishment to which I allude is that of "tashhir." It is in its appeal to the imagination and the senses a reminiscence of the Arabian Nights and of Haran-ul Rasid. It consisted of public exposure. The delinquent was carried through the town on an ass with his face blackened and his forehead branded by means of a tattooing process, with the name of the offence of which he was convicted in the local dialect. The tattooing consisted of a blue mark on the forehead which could not be effaced without tearing off the skin. The word "daroghgo" (one who has perjured himself) or "jalsaz" (a forger) were thus branded on the forehead of the offender and could not be got rid off. The offence of giving false evidence, unless adequately punished on detection, is just one of those which is likely to be habitual, and it is unfortunate that a punishment which rendered it impossible for any one to practise the lucrative business of a professional witness, should have been abolished. Under the old régime, a man who had offended once in this respect was hardly likely to get an opportunity of repeating a crime more dangerous and prejudicial to society than many more startling outrages. He was also liable to punishment by stripes with a 'korah.' The punishment of "tashhir" was removed from the statute book in 1849.

The above brief sketch of the Mahomedan law and its gradual modifications by the Regulations does not profess to be at all exhaustive. It would answer no useful purpose to describe in detail the whole of the amendments gradually introduced,

which resulted in the composite fabric of the Penal Code of the Regulations. It was, at best, a mosaic in which the pieces but imperfectly joined. There were at the very end many gaps which were never filled. Up to the last stage the outlines of the edifice betrayed the incongruous mixture of the arabesque with the modern. But it held together for practical purposes.

It is to be borne in mind that the Mahomedan Penal Law, though no doubt far superior to the Criminal Laws of the Hindus which it superseded, was essentially, as before suggested, a law specially framed to preserve the privileges of conquerors and to secure the moral subjection of the conquered. The Regulations which strove to preserve its main features while doing away with its cruel and extravagant principles, had, at the same time, so lopped and pared most of its salient points as to deprive it of all title to traditional respect among Mahomedans. The technical terms and definitions of the various kinds of homicide—for instance, had been retained, while the appropriate punishments had been abandoned. In many respects the administration of law became a mere travesty. Nothing was commoner than for the Courts to ask the law officers what would be the punishment under the Mahomedan law for a hypothetical case and then to inflict that punishment, or one analogous to it, on an individual who did not come within the hypothetical case, and very frequently on an individual who was under the Mahomedan law liable to no punishment at all.*

In some of the presidencies and especially in the Bombay Presidency, the additions of the law of the Regulations to the substantive Mahomedan law had resulted not only in anomalies and absurdities but to positive injustice. Punishment disproportionate to offences, the grouping together in one category of offences of quite different degrees of criminality, and the omission altogether of many heinous crimes still further disfigured the system of law administered in that presidency.

With regard to the actual outcome of the Bengal and Madras Law, the Indian Law Commissioners wrote as follows in their report to the Governor-General in Council, dated the 14th of October 1837 :—“The Penal law of Bengal and of the Madras Presidency is in fact Mahomedan law, which has gradually been distorted to such an extent as to deprive it of all title to the religious veneration of Mahomedans, yet which retains enough of its original peculiarities to perplex and encumber the administration of justice.”

* For instances if the law officer rejected the evidence, because the witnesses did not profess the Mahomedan religion, he was required to state what his *futwa* would have been if the witnesses had been Mahomedans. In other words, one of the essential features of the Mahomedan religion was rejected.

If the defects and inconveniences of the law manifested themselves so clearly to the Indian Law Commissioners in 1837 after the more glaring features of inhumanity, partiality and bigotry had been gradually swept away, it is not difficult to realize the unenviable position of a judge of a circuit engaged at the commencement of a century in trying a prisoner under Mahomedan law. The text books at his disposal were very scanty. Hamilton's translation of the *Hedya* had been only recently published (1791) and was not generally available. No other translation of any Mahomedan work on law was in existence, with the exception of the *Sirajiya*, a work of authority on the Mahomedan law of inheritance by Sir William Jones. This was the only portion of the Mahomedan Digest which this distinguished orientalist was able to complete. The *Futowá-i-Alumgiri*, another work of first-rate importance was, I believe, untranslated. Sir J. W. Harrington's elaborate and learned analysis of the Laws and Regulations of Bengal, with his masterly and exhaustive exposition of Mahomedan Law, was not published till 1821, and Beaufort's Digest of the Criminal Law did not make its appearance till 1857—only three years before that portion which dealt with crime was altogether superseded by the Penal Code. The *Cazi* and *Mufti* who sat in Court throughout the proceedings, wrote at the end of the record a *fatwa* or exposition of the Mahomedan law applicable to the circumstances which he considered proved, and if he acquitted, and the judge after perusing the evidence concurred, a sentence of acquittal was pronounced. If the *fatwa* declared the prisoner guilty and the judge concurred in the conviction, he passed such sentence as the Mahomedan law officer considered suitable ; if he thought a severer sentence than he was competent to pass, essential for the circumstances of the case, he referred it to the *Nizamut Adalut*. All sentences of perpetual imprisonment or death had to be so referred. He had the power of inflicting imprisonment up to fourteen years and of unlimited fine. He could also award thirty-nine stripes with a *corah*, an instrument for flogging, which was not superseded by the rattan till 1825, and for which a special dress was provided for a prisoner under sentence of whipping.

When the judge disapproved of the *fatwa* he was directed to submit the proceedings to the *Nizamut Adalut*. This reference differed from those in force under Section 307 of the present Criminal Procedure Code, by a judge dissenting from the verdict of a jury, as in the former case, he suggested grounds of aggravation or mitigation, and the punishment to which be considered the accused person liable. The papers were then laid before the *Kázi-ul-Kázát* and *Muftis* of the *Nizamut*

Adalut, who stated their opinions in writing at the foot of the record. The Mahomedan law officers at head-quarters, as the records of decided cases shew, undoubtedly possessed more common sense and enlightenment than their brethren of the moffusil. Even their decision, however, was not final, for any two judges of the Nizamut Adalut, sitting together, were authorized to override their *futwa*, whether it was for conviction or acquittal.

But although the Mahomedan Government had long before the British supremacy established its own Criminal Law to the exclusion of that of the Hindus, there were many parts of Bengal, such as the forest tracts of Dacca, the jungle mehals of Midnapore, Bhaugulpore, Rajmehal and the Sonthal Pergunnahs where the Mahomedan law had never penetrated. With regard to these latter tracts, special provisions were made. These people had never acknowledged the authority of the Mahomedan Government. They subsisted at that time principally by plunder, but one of the early Collectors of Bhaugulpore, Mr. Cleveland, one of those distinguished and capable officers who appear to have been the special outcome of the troubled times which immediately followed our accession to power, had established some sort of order throughout the hills. They were induced to abandon their predatory habits, and pecuniary grants were made to the chiefs who were constituted the guardians of the public peace. In 1782 it was enacted, that all crimes and misdemeanours committed among them should be tried by an assembly of their chiefs, either in Rajmehal or Bhaugulpore. A Regulation was passed in 1796, prescribing certain rules for the trial of offenders in accordance with this principle.

Undoubtedly the system in force among the races of Bhaugulpore and the Sonthal Pergunnahs was a relic of a penal procedure anterior not only to the Mahomedan, but of considerable antiquity even when compared with the Hindu penal system. The authority of the chiefs to try offences was apparently a more rudimentary step in domestic jurisprudence than that of decision by the Punchayets of the village community, and was, in fact, the system taught by Manu and the sages.

It would be foreign to the purpose of the present article to examine how far the Hindu Penal Code survived side by side with the Mahomedan system, or how far the ancient Hindu tribunals were ousted by the conquerors. The inquiry would be a difficult one, and I am by no means certain that materials exist for any very trustworthy results. The Mahomedans had no doubt, as has already been observed, interfered as little as possible with the peculiar observances of the Hindu religion, even where they conflicted with what the Mahomedan

Penal Code recognized as criminal. The English Government adopted the same principle, and Pundits were attached to all the Courts to explain the Hindu law in connection with any custom which had brought its votaries within the pale of the law.

Some relics of Hindu jurisprudence undoubtedly did exist and were gradually brought under the control of the regulations. It has already been mentioned that Brahmins were formerly exempt from the penalty of death in Benares. This was distinctly recognized by an order of Government in 1790 incorporated in Regulation 16 of 1795. By this enactment the penalty of transportation was to be substituted for the sentence of death. The Court of Circuit was not authorized to pass any scutine at all in such cases, which were reserved for the Nizamut Adalat—a curtailment of local authority of which this is a solitary instance, and which must have had a most prejudicial effect on popular opinion. The 'sastras' no doubt lay down such maxims as the following :—"When the punishment of death is necessary, then the Brahmin's head shall be shaved. Men of other classes shall be put to death." "If a Brahmin be guilty of crimes of every description, he shall be expelled from the country, but allowed to take his property without being wounded. There is not a greater vice than the murder of a Brahmin, therefore the king shall not even think of the execution of one." (*Vivadá Chintamáni*, by Prosanna Kumar Tagore, 1863,* pp. 210-211). The English Regulation almost adopted the principles here established in substituting banishment for death in cases where Brahmins had incurred the latter penalty. It is not remarkable that the exceptional favor shewn to this particular class of the community "operated" (to quote the words of Regulation 17 of 1817 which repealed the former enactment) "to prevent the infliction of adequate punishment in some atrocious cases of murder." Even in 1817, however, a slight privilege was retained on behalf of the holy city of Benares. No sentence of death of one of the priestly order was to take place within its sacred precincts.

In connection with the Province of Benares, I may here conveniently mention the first of the obsolete crimes of which I propose to give some account, and which differs from "dhurna" as involving retribution through a vicarious penalty.

* The fundamental principles of non-interference with the respective personal law of both Hindus and Mahomedans had been laid down as follows in 1772 by the Governor-General in Council—"In suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages or institutions, the Mahomedan law with respect to Mahomedans and the Hindu law with respect to Hindus are to be considered the general rules by which the judges are to form their decision."

The extreme reverence paid to Brahmins in that ancient seat of Brahminical learning had suggested an atrocious and fanatical practice. On the approach of any revenue officer or any judicial officer who was about to issue any process or exercise any coercion over the Brahmins, the latter were in the habit of constructing a circular enclosure called a kurh, in which they raised a pile of wood. In this enclosure an aged female inmate of the Brahmin's household was burned to death, under the belief that after her death her spirit would revisit the earth and torment the individuals who were the occasion of her being sacrificed. Another practice was for Brahmins who were disappointed of any relief to which they considered themselves entitled at the hands of Government, or against whom a process had been issued, to cause their women and children to sit down in the presence of the officer concerned, and to threaten to behead them if he approached any nearer; and occasionally when they have been arrested or subjected to coercion they have carried these terrible threats into execution. They were also in the habit of lacerating their bodies with knives and razors. The dread of being made an object of divine anger by some arbitrary act of an enemy against which the victim can exercise no counter charm, is one of the strongest features of the fatalism of the Hindus, and when this terrorism was exercised by a Brahmin in a place where Brahminism had reached its zenith, it may well be conceived that it paralyzed all the operations of the law against the privileged class. Peons could not be found to serve processes when the risks attendant on a Brahmin's displeasure were so tremendous, and a regulation was accordingly passed in 1795 to prevent the practices described. It was found necessary to entrust the warrants exclusively to Mahomedan Police Officers. I have searched through the volumes of the Nizamut Adalut reports in vain for a single instance of this crime having come before the tribunals. The crime has long since disappeared.

A natural transition leads me to another variety of obsolete crime, that of human sacrifice. This was undoubtedly authorized by the *Vedas*, and though prohibited in the present cycle of Hindu chronology, was not uncommon in the first half of the present century. The *Kalica-purana* contains a chapter on human and other sacrifices which has been published in the fifth volume of the translations of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal. There were certain conditions prescribed; the victims must be over 12 years of age and not unwilling, and the sacrifice must be authorized by the king. Although, therefore, as Dr. Hunter has pointed out in his "Annals of Rural Bengal," human sacrifice may have been adopted by the settlers of

the Gangetic delta from the aborigines in connexion with Siva-worship, there is in Aryan literature a classical warrant for appeasing the deity who typifies malignant influences, with human blood. The heroic poem of the *Ramayana* contains also an account of the attempted sacrifice of Ram and Laksman to Kali by Ahiravana. Whatever the date of the compilation of the *Ramayana* in its present form, the legends which it commemorates must have existed prior to the Aryan invasion of Bengal, and the tradition of human sacrifice was, therefore, a constituent element of their original creed.

Several instances of human sacrifice are to be found in the reports, and have been dealt with from a medico-legal aspect by Dr. Chevers. An interesting chapter in Kaye's "Administration of the East India Company" gives an account of human sacrifice among, the Khonds, known as 'Meriah,' and its suppression in 1842.

A graphic description of a case which occurred in Sylhet, is to be found in the narrative of a native of the Jynthea Hills who was tried for this offence. The brother of the Raja of Jynthea, known as the Kumár sent the prisoner to seize in the district of Sylhet a boy for the purpose of offering him up at the shrine of the goddess Kali. The Kumar had been in the habit of sacrificing victims every year between the months of Magh and Bysakh. They were made to sit down, adorned with garlands of flowers, and their heads severed with the sacrificial knife. The story of the prisoner was that the Raja had strictly forbidden the custom, but that the Kumar practiced it to procure the pregnancy of his wife, who bathed in the blood of the victims. Professional kidnappers were employed. The official report on this atrocious practice left no doubt that the appellation of "khajjur" or kidnapper was well known throughout the district in connection with mysterious disappearances which occurred among the inhabitants of Sylhet and Cachar, beyond doubt destined for immolation at the shrine of Kali in the Raja of Jynthea's territory. The actual instigators of these hideous outrages were the Raja's sister and brother-in-law. When decapitation takes place, there is always a suspicion that a murder is committed for a sacrificial purpose even though robbery has been the immediate object. A case in 1805 at Monghyr where a child's head was found near an idol of Devi, is an illustration of the existence of a double motive.

So recently as 1851, a singular case occurred at Midnapore, of a child being murdered by a Brahmin, who declared that the God Saligram had appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to offer up a human sacrifice. The head covered with flowers was found in front of the Saligram. The

Saligram is an ammonite found in mount Gandaki, of Nepal, and also in the river Ganduck. These ammonites are in various kinds, they are supposed to be inherently holy, and to be emblems of the God Vishnu. The *Bhagvat Purána* contains an account of the origin of the worship. They possess various properties. Those worshipped by Brahmins partake of the beneficent character attributed to all forms of Vishnu, and the cult of the Saligram is utterly antagonistic to human sacrifice or to sacrifice of any kind. There is, however, a form of the *Saligram* which is supposed to be maleficent, and to cause death or injury to every member of the household in which it exists with the exception of the actual worshipper. Hence its worship is restricted to *jogis* or devotees. But as no orthodox Hindu would dare to sacrifice any living creature before any kind of *Saligram*, the case here quoted is extraordinary and perhaps unique.

It is probable that human sacrifice is almost extinct among orthodox Hindus living within British territories. The utterance of the word "mó," an invocation of Kali, at the time the fatal blow is struck by the murderer—a fact of which I am cognizant from my own experience—is, however, no doubt a partial survival of the *mantra* pronounced by priests when a human being is offered up at her shrine. Most of the sacred legislators of India have forbidden the practice from an early date as is mentioned in the preliminary essay to the *Vivada, Chintamani* by Babu Prosanno Kumar Tagore.

Among those tribes whose religious tenets form the frontier ground of Hinduism, and who have assimilated only those portions of the system which harmonise best with their original creed, human sacrifices were of constant occurrence, and especially among the tribes on the Chittagong and Eastern frontier. An extraordinary outbreak of fanaticism occurred among the Riangs and Kookies resident in Tipperra in 1852. Some Kookies were seized by one of the heads of the Riang tribe and his followers. Six of them were made to bathe in the river and then taken through the forest to the place of sacrifice, a spot cleared of jungle and surrounded by bamboo sticks, and there one by one beheaded on the sacrificial altar, a *salam* to the idol accompanying each murder. Three others were similarly beheaded the next day. The victims were bound and their heads decapitated at one blow. These tribes, although they had practically adopted Hinduism, were nomad in their habits, and were apparently residents of a hilly tract near the ethnical border between the Mongolian and the Aryan races.

Another ancient crime of inhuman character closely connected with the foregoing, was the practice of sacrificing children by exposing them to be drowned or devoured by sharks and

alligators. This prevailed from time immemorial at various places in the River Ganges, but especially at the island of Sau-gar. Sacrifices took place in connection with the festival of the full moon in November and January. The Government dealt with this crime promptly and courageously in a Regulation in 1802, in which the penalty of death was imposed on all such offenders. The conduct of Government was not characterised in this instance by the timidity which marked generally their early efforts to do away with crimes resulting from superstition or religious usage, partly, no doubt, because both the Hindu and Mahomedan laws had discountenanced this form of sacrifice, and partly from the mistaken notion that it was not sanctioned by the Hindu religious works. On the contrary, human sacrifice is distinctly enjoined in the *Tantrás*,* and there is a class of *Tantrick* Brahmins who profess to be guided by the dicta of the *Tantrás*, and of whom I have given a short account later on. It is, however, prohibited in the later Hindu works.

I next proceed to give some account of a crime which is also happily extinct, but of which it is impossible to speak without horror. I refer to *sutti*. The mode in which the Government dealt with this terrible crime in the early years of the present century, is a lasting blot on our administration in India. It would be travelling over well-known ground to point out that the Hindu *Sastras* nowhere enjoin *sutti* as a necessary duty, † that many of the sages of highest repute discountenance it, and that at the utmost it is permitted, and not directed by the Hindu religion as contributing to the future happiness of the woman, who perishes on the funeral pile of her husband, and that of her lord in the future life. Never was there a clearer case for that highest duty of legislation, to lay down principles of morality and to sanction them by appropriate penalties which should mould public opinion into more enlightened channels. The principle of toleration in matters of religion to all classes of native subjects could not be fairly pressed to countenance a crime revolting to civilisation and humanity. The first step taken by Government in 1805, viz., the examination of Hindu Pundits on the validity of the custom, and the extent to which it is authorized by Hindu text books, was no doubt a wise and necessary one. But when it was apparent from the answers to those interrogatories that the practice was not imperative, the principle of toleration should have given place to the paramount duty of a civilised Government, to forbid and punish what is antagonistic to the

* (See the *Kalika Puran* and Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*).

† The whole subject has been discussed in Coleroobke's *Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. 3, pp. 451, seq. (1801) and in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. 1 (1837). See also H. H. Wilson "On the supposed *Veiaik* authority for the burning of Hiddu widows." *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. 16, in which he proves conclusively the absence of all *Veidik* sanction for the practice.

ordinary morality of mankind. It may further be observed that had the Government at the very commencement made it penal to assist or abet the burning of widows, such a measure would not have been antagonistic to unanimous native opinion. There was a strong party of reforming Hindus headed by the celebrated Ram Mohun Rai who opposed the practice as repugnant to every principle of humanity. A still larger party was shocked at the extravagant lengths to which the custom attained. I may add that the practice of *sutti* is an exceptional abomination. In Bombay and the Deccan it was rare. In Madras, I believe, it was unknown. In Upper India, i.e., Hindustan Proper, it was common, especially in and near the province of Benares. In Bengal it was commoner than in any other Presidency, and in Calcutta itself the unholy flames of *sutti* burned perpetually.

The fundamental guarantee for the maintenance of all Hindu and Mahomedan religious observances is to be found in the Statue 53, George III, cap. 155, to the effect that "the principles of the British Government on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion be inviolably maintained." This principle could not fairly be pressed into a justification for the toleration of a non-obligatory practice opposed to ordinary canons of morality, even though it was closely interwoven with the religious prejudices of the people. Nevertheless in 1812 when instructions were first formally issued on the subject, the position taken up by the Government was thus expressed. "The course which the British Government should follow according to the principle of religious toleration, is to allow the practice in those cases in which it is countenanced by their religion, and to prevent it in others in which it is by the same authority prohibited."* The restrictions specified by the Pundits and which the Government attempted to enforce were briefly as follows:—No woman having infant children under three years old, unless satisfactory arrangements could be made for their maintenance, or being in a state of pregnancy and uncleanness, or under the age of puberty (this was fixed at sixteen years) was permitted to burn. It was also laid down as contrary to law as well as to the usage of the country, to cause any woman to burn herself against her wish by administering stupefying or intoxicating drugs. It was further ascertained from the Pundits that the woman who had already declared her intention of burning, but who afterwards receded from her declaration, was not liable to perform any penance if she withdrew before the "Sankalpa"†

* Letter from the Chief Secretary to Government to the Registrar of the Nizamut Adalut, 1812.

† This is explained in Wilson's Glossary as "a deliberate announcement of an intention to perform some pious act which has the force of a vow." *

was pronounced. If her abandonment of her purpose takes place after the "Sankalpa," she recovers her purity and right to associate with her relatives after a severe penance. Another important restriction was the illegality of post-cremation (*anumaran*) in the case of Brahmin women, who could burn on no funeral pile, except the one on which the body of their deceased husband was actually placed. Widows belonging to other castes could perform post-cremation as soon as they heard of the death of their husbands, but not afterwards. Instructions based on these principles were circulated throughout the country, and police officers were directed to attend all cases of *sutti* which came to their notice, to prohibit those which involved a breach of any of the conditions above specified, and to see that no restraint or violence was practised by the relatives to enforce suicide on a reluctant widow. They were also instructed to dissuade and remonstrate with widows who had announced their intentions of burning. But the Government had not the foresight to carry out successfully the policy which was the outcome of their lack of political courage. The effect of these well meant, though half-hearted efforts to check the custom, was so far as can be gathered from the reports the very opposite of what was intended. The official statements show that for years after the Government assumed the direct responsibility of the control of *sutti*, the cases of suicide increased instead of gradually becoming obsolete. An extraordinary blunder had also crept into the system of supervision which vitiated the efforts made to restrain *sutti* within the limits and conditions laid down by the Pundits. There was no law by which it was compulsory on the relatives of widows who intended to burn, to give the notice to the police which was contemplated by the rules. No penalty was incurred by neglecting to apprise the executive authorities, and the simple resource adopted by individuals who intended to carry out an illegal *sutti*, was to evade the duty of giving information until the immolation had been completed. An error of procedure of a different kind had a tendency still further to nullify the good effects of the position taken up by Government. After the doctrines which restrict the range of *sutti* within the limits, and subject it to the exceptions above described, had once for all been ascertained from the most learned Pundits of the day, one would have supposed that English judges and Mahomedan law officers would have found it an easy task to apply them to such cases of abetments of illegal *suttis* as were discovered by the police, and came before the tribunals for trial. But by an astonishing error of judgment, the local Pundits attached to each Court, were allowed to deliver "vyavasthas" or explanation of the law applicable to the facts

disclosed on each occasion when such cases were prosecuted, and they displayed no lack of dialectical subtlety in finding reasons for justifying the conduct of the prisoners. Although the authority of the Pundits was no doubt frequently set aside on a reference to the law officers in Calcutta, improper acquittals did sometimes occur in deference to their views. A still worse result was the effect on the minds of the educated portion of the community who in their turn influenced the masses. They could but regard it as a sign of weakness or vacillation on the part of the Government that, after canons of legality and illegality had been laid down and published under authority, the merits of each isolated case which came before the tribunals, however clearly within the scope of the prohibited phases, were liable to be canvassed *de novo* by the Pundits of each Court of Sessions, whose findings of law were sometimes distinctly at variance with the dicta of the Nizamut Hindu law officers. Another cause to which the Nizamut Adalut itself attributed the increase in the number of Hindu widows burned alive after the promulgation of the rules, was the care with which Government had particularized the circumstances in which *sutti* was legal as well as those in which it was forbidden by the Hindu law. Government was therefore looked upon as fostering the practice, of which it merely lopped off the excrescences. There is probably some truth in this theory, but very little in the further suggestion that "the only other assignable cause is a spirit of fanaticism rather inflamed than repressed by the interference of the public authorities."* This was the language rather of despair than of conviction, and the sequel shows that the authorities altogether misconceived the spirit of the people.

The following figures indicate the prevalence of the practice for many years before its final abolition :—

Year.				Number of Suttis reported
1815	..	..	..	380
1816	..	..	..	442
1817	..	..	..	706
1818	..	..	..	839
1819	..	..	..	650
1820	..	..	..	597
1821	..	..	..	654
1822	..	..	..	583
1823	..	..	..	575
1824	..	..	..	572
1825	..	..	..	639
1826	..	..	..	518

The above figures shew that after the Government rules were

* Proceedings of the Nizamut Adalut, 1819.

in full force, the number of suicides increased very largely, and remained at almost the same figure until the practice was finally abolished. The utter futility of the precautions adopted to prevent unauthorized *suttis*, can be gathered from the circulars of the Nizamut Adalut which review the proceedings of each year. The facts which were indicated from time to time in each year's summary must have been extremely disheartening. The number of *suttis* had risen from 378 in 1815, the year the Government instructions came into full operation, to 839 in 1818, and the Court in its review of the *sutti* reports for that year, is driven to find a mournful satisfaction in the fact that a large proportion of the victims were women of advanced age.

The parts of Bengal in which *sutti* was most prevalent, were the metropolitan districts. The deaths in Burdwan, Hooghly, Calcutta, Nuddea and Jessor were very frequently more than a moiety of the whole. This is what would be naturally expected, as the inhabitants of these districts contained a larger proportion of Hindus than existed in other parts of Bengal. On the other hand in those districts where Mahomedans form a considerable portion of the population, *suttis* were comparatively rare—far more so than is accounted for by the difference in proportion of the two races. In Mymensing, Murshidabad, Purnea, and Rajshahye, all of which contained a large Mahomedan population, *suttis* were infrequent. In Behar, the proportion of *suttis* to population was low, and the same may be said of the greater portion of the North-Western Provinces, with the exception of Gorruckpore and Ghazipore and the City of Benares.

These facts appear to me to give rise to one or two interesting inferences. They afford one more instance of the strongly counteracting influences of Hindu religion on Mahomedanism and the reverse. Where the Mahomedans were numerous, Mahomedan public opinion appears to have been sufficiently powerful to bring the practice into general discredit amongst the Hindus. Many of the Mahomedans in the Eastern districts, such as Mymensingh and Backergunge were doubtless converts from Hinduism within historic times, and entertained a convert's vehement horror for a practice connected with his abandoned faith. It is difficult otherwise to account for the fact, that in Mymensingh, Purnea and Rajshayé not a single instance of widow sacrifice occurs for several years. On the other hand the whole force of educated opinion in Calcutta was, it may be assumed, adverse to the custom. But English influence combined with that of the reformers headed by Ram Mohan Roy, was powerless to stem the tide. In the years 1822 and 1823, nearly 100 *suttis* occurred in the suburbs of Calcutta alone and more than 100 in Nuddea.

The preamble to Regulation XVII of 1829, is a mournful recognition of the hopelessness of curing so hideous and inveterate a canker spot on our administration of the country otherwise than by excision. The lessons of the past decade during which widow sacrifice had flourished as it were under the avowed protection of the Government had not been without fruit. It was at last recognised that "the practice of *sutti* is revolting to the feelings of human nature, that the measures hitherto adopted to discourage and prevent such acts have failed of success, that many acts of atrocity had been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindus themselves, and that notwithstanding the important principle of Government in India, that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages," an exception must be made with regard to such practices as violated the paramount dictates of justice and humanity. This terrible page in the annals of British administration was thus closed for ever. All that was necessary to root out widow burning from Bengal, was to show decisively that the British Government intended to place the abetment of *sutti* on the same footing as the abetment of other suicides, and that persons guilty of the further crime of using violence or compulsion to force a widow to burn, should be liable to death. So complete was the acquiescence of the people in this courageous and statesmanlike measure that I can only find one case which came before the Courts subsequent to the passing of the Regulation.

Although, as I have observed, the Eastern districts of Bengal were singularly free from female immolation, one very peculiar practise analogous to *sutti* prevailed in the Tipperah district, where women of the weaver (*Jugi*) caste were buried alive, instead of being burned, with the corpses of their husbands.

The cases which are to be found in the reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adalut are 13 only in number, and comprise but a small fraction of those in which various illegalities were practised. The large majority of the more heinous instances of the violation of the Hindu canons which occurred were never brought before the tribunals. The Resolutions of Government about this period make frequent mention of horrible barbarities—of children of 8 and 9 years old being brought to the pyre and destroyed—of widows being pressed down by bamboos—of their being thrust again and again into the flames when they tried to escape—and of their being overwhelmed with the most violent abuse, and threatened with loss of caste if they showed any disposition to alter their mind. No relapsed heretic in the time of the inquisition when made over for torture to the secular arm, could have suffered more terribly at the hands of the tormentors than the trembling victims who shrank

at the last moment from the physical agony of the flames only to be murdered by their inhuman kinsmen. The words of the Roman poet about the sacrifice of Iphigenia "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum" must find a melancholy echo in the minds of those who read the annals of *sutti* two thousand years after Lucretius wrote them.

An apposite illustration of the evils of allowing the local Hindu Pundits any authority in such cases is afforded by a trial which occurred in 1823 at Gorruckpore. The illegality charged was that the accused had assisted at the *sutti* of a Brahmin woman by post-cremation (*anumaran*) before she had ascertained satisfactorily the fact of her husband's death. Post-cremation is illegal on the part of Brahmin women as has been mentioned above. The defence was a singular one. The accused persons pleaded that the woman had been assured of the death of her husband by seeing his ghost. They added that flames rose spontaneously from the funeral pyre. The *vyavastha* of the Pundits displayed a singular and characteristic incapacity for dealing with facts in criminal cases. Their decision is in fact a medley of involved reasoning and contradictory conclusions. They commence by observing that if a Brahmin is absent from his wife for 6 years, the latter may perceive "by intuition" that he is dead. This intuition may take the form of a dream in the case of a woman of unusual chastity and virtue. They continue by admitting that it is contrary to the *Shastras* for a Brahmin woman to burn without the body of her husband (*anumaran*). Nevertheless such an act is an eternal virtue. The conduct of the husband's brothers who lit the funeral pyre is not actually blamable, but as they have committed a technically irregular act, they should be declared liable to perform two *Chandrayan* penances and pay a fine of 1,080 "pans" of cowries. The law officers of the Nizamut Adalut refused to abide by this decision (as well they might) and pronounced the accused guilty of abetment of illegal *sutti*. The different conclusions of judges of the Nizamut Adalut in this case are eminently suggestive of the unsatisfactory condition of the law. In this, as in several other cases of the same kind one of the ablest judges who ever sat on the bench (Mr. Courteney Smith) insisted on accepting the dicta of the Pundits as to the legality of the Act, because, if *sutti* was to be tolerated at all, they were the only authorities who could correctly indicate the customary law of the country. I cannot but think that this expression of view was intended mainly as an emphatic protest against the vacillating conduct of the Government, as Mr. Courteney Smith recorded afterwards a very strong opinion in favour of the withdrawal of all authoritative sanction.

I conclude this branch of the subject with a short allusion to an extraordinary case which occurred at Gorruckpore in 1822. The prisoner's son died at the house of his father, and his widow, who was at Chapra, burned herself with the turban of her husband sent to her for that purpose. The sister of the deceased who was with him when he died, insisted on burning also, a pile was prepared, and she was immolated by her own father. The latter pleaded in defence that his daughter had threatened him with the direst imprecations if he opposed her wishes and that he reluctantly consented. It need scarcely be said that the *sutti* of a sister (if such an expression may be used) is nowhere suggested in the Shastras. Nevertheless the Pundits delivered a Sanskrit exposition which completely exonerated the father. The reasoning by which they arrived at this conclusion is as follows :—“It must be presumed that the sister in some former stage of existence did some act which impressed her with an irresistible belief that burning with her deceased brother was her only means of salvation in the next world In default of a nearer heir of the deceased to set fire to the pile, the performance of his exequial rites is obligatory on the father.” As the daughter was burned on the same pyre as that of his son, he cannot be held blameable. They go on to cite instances of Munis, or holy sages, having with the assistance of their pupils committed self-immolation, and urged that even at the present day men and women drown themselves from pious motives at Prayag (Allahabad). The learned hold that the tying of water-pots or other weights to the necks of would-be suicides is not sinful. Having thus justified the father's act on moral grounds, they proceed to acquit him as being unaccountable for his actions by the general reflection that fathers lose the power of discriminating between what is lawful and what is unlawful on the death of their sons, and finally declare that he should perform 3 “praya-shityas” (penances). Such were the legal opinions which the judges of the early part of the 19th century were compelled to consider, and which were even occasionally acted upon.

I proceed next to give some account of the crimes connected with sorcery and witchcraft. The belief in sorcery, divination and magic is discountenanced by the Koran, but the Hindu religious system is impregnated throughout with the occult arts. Omens and dreams were universally believed in, and witches and sorcerers were the objects of constant dread. The Mahomedans gradually came under the spell of the same influences. They imbibed the superstitions of their Hindu subjects without, as a rule, being imbued with their fanaticism. In this, as in many other matters, the two races were mutually affected by their originally conflicting creeds. The terror

inspired by belief in the superhuman power of sorcerers and witches has in all countries, at various stages of their civilization, given rise to appalling persecution. It is not astonishing that in the state of society which existed at the commencement of the century, such crimes should have prevailed.

The earliest notice of this branch of crime that I can find is in a proclamation of February 1792, the tenor of which was afterwards embodied in a Regulation of 1797. Two men of the *Sutar* (or carpenter) caste had been convicted of the murder of five women said to have practised sorcery. It was accordingly enacted that persons of the *Sutar* caste, or any other caste, who put to death any individuals on suspicion of sorcery, shall be held guilty of murder, and persons forming a portion of an assembly formed for the purpose of trying witches or sorcerers will, if death follows from any order of this assembly, be liable to be punished as principals.

An interesting case of this description occurred at Rampur in 1820, which illustrates also one of the approved methods for detecting witches. It appears that the family of the prosecutor consisting of himself, his wife and daughter was suspected by the villagers of Seru in Chota Nagpur of having caused the death of some of the inhabitants. Accordingly a witch-finder was sent to the suspected family to discover the culprit. He cited the three members of the family to appear before him and poured some oil into a leaf with a little rice, calling out successively the names of the three suspected persons. The oil ran through the leaf when the names of the two women were mentioned. A council of the villagers was held at a shrine beneath a "pakur" tree. The suspected women and the head of the family were summoned. The women were bound with ropes and beaten with heated sticks cut from a tamarind tree, and the wife of the prosecutor died from the injuries. The witch-finder was sentenced under the Regulation.

In 1822, at Ramgarh, the offender in a similar case, was a Rajput. The prisoner was the head of the village, and he considered the sickness of his child was due to the incantations of the prosecutor's wife; accordingly he forcibly carried her off, confined her in the stocks for six days, and at the end of this time, hung her by the neck on a *bar* tree. He was convicted, on strong presumptive evidence, but nearly the whole village was found to be in league with the murderer.

The following narrative of a tragedy which occurred at Almorah in 1822, reads more like a romance of the middle ages than a story of events which really transpired only sixty years ago. Keshun Dom, the prisoner, appeared to be naturally of a quiet and inoffensive nature. The victim was a Brahmin physician called Gunput, one of the rare cases in

which a member of the priestly caste has fallen under the ban of sorcery. He professed to work cures by charms and incantations, rather than by medicine, and unquestionably believed in the efficacy of his own power to influence the angry deities by occult means. This hazardous assumption proved his ruin. The fact of the murder of a Brahmin by a Dom, one of the lowest of the Sudras in the frame-work of Hindu society, shows how far superstitious terror will hold in subjection the ordinary instincts of Hindu caste.

The story of Keshun Dom is that Gunputi had asked him for the small present of a tambour. On Keshun's neglecting or refusing this request, his son became possessed of a devil which was, however, exorcised by the power of Gunputi and his father. Shortly afterwards Keshun being still reluctant to make the present demanded, three of his buffaloes were smitten with barrenness, and it was reported to him that Gunput had placed his hands on their horns after performing suitable oblations, and muttered some incantations over them. Remonstrances were addressed to Gunput's father; the latter, however, was just as convinced of his son's occult powers as was Gunputi himself, and he imprecated curses on the family of Keshun, unless the three buffaloes were made over to him for nothing. Shortly afterwards Keshun dreamed that he saw two black dogs and a white one issuing from Gunput's house, and his son woke up and exclaimed that these dogs were biting him. Terror now urged Keshun to supplicate the aid of the head of the village, but the village headman was as much in dread of the Brahmin as himself. Keshun then bethought himself of the efficacy of sacrifice, and he slaughtered two fowls and a pig. The narrative does not indicate the deity whom he attempted to propitiate; no doubt, as the offerings indicate, it was some sylvan god whom tradition had retained among the semi-Hinduised Doms. The son slightly improved, but on a relapse occurring, he sent again to Gunpati and his father Nathu. They were not at home, but Nathu's wife sent her eldest son Lalwa to treat the sick boy. This man was however ignorant of the proper use of incantations and drugs, and he insisted on stinging the boy with nettles in spite of Keshun's remonstrances, and the child died almost immediately. Three days afterwards a second son was seized with the same disease. A second fruitless application was made to the village headman, but the latter was far too frightened on his own account to venture on interfering with the sorcerer. Gunpati at last himself appeared on the scene, and announced to the terrified father that his son had been seized with an evil spirit owing to the refusal of the three buffaloes. Keshun entreated him to accept them; upon this Gunpati took 7

kinds of grain, tied them up and offered them in the forest to one of the woodland deities. His son slightly improved. A rival enchanter, called Dhawan, now presented himself, sent by the head of the village, but his incantations only made the child worse, and had the further effect of exasperating the wizard Gunpati, who declined to exercise any further influence over the disease, notwithstanding Dhawan's entreaties. The latter admitted that the only physician who could heal the malady was Gunpati. After Keshun had delivered up another buffalo and two fowls had been sacrificed, Nathu came and attempted to cure the child but without success. The present of a black goat followed, and by this time all the possessions of the unfortunate herdsman had passed into the hands of Nathu's family. That night the child died, complaining that a cat was scratching him, and the sequel of the story is of a startling character. Gunpati was sent for, and Keshun placed the body of his son in a winding sheet, and asked Gunpati to carry it on his back to the Commissioner's residence at Hawalbagh. Nothing but the most conscience-stricken conviction of his being himself the agency through which Keshun's child had died, would have induced a Brahmin to take the dead body of a Dom on his back, involving as it did the extreme consequences of caste pollution. On this occasion, however, Gunpati escaped with his life.

But the persecutions of Keshun's family still continued. He was banished from his village and then his wife and a third child died. The duty of retaliating upon Gunpati for all these successive injuries now impressed itself on Keshun's mind, and he cut down Gunpati with a sword, on a nocturnal visit to some other sick person in the village.

The black dogs and the cat are well known appanages of medieval witch stories. The belief of sorcerers in their own powers was also common among the so-called witches and wizards of European countries.

In a case which occurred at Agra in 1816, the deceased was looked upon as a powerful enchanter, having powers of life and death. Owing to the fear inspired by his influence over evil spirits, he extorted money from every one in the village and was at last banished by a decree of the *punchyet*. Some years afterwards he returned and was murdered by one of the villagers through revenge for the death of his son, his son's wife and his father, who he believed had fallen victims to the diabolical arts of the deceased within a brief period.

A singular instance occurred at Hooghly so recently as 1849, of death having been caused by the efforts which were made to exorcise an evil spirit. A girl about 15 years old exhibited symptoms of what were probably epileptic fits, but two native

Boidyas (physicians) having failed to detect the nature of the disease, suggested having recourse to a professional exorcist. A Bagdi (one of the lowest Hindu castes) was accordingly sent for and he declared that the girl was possessed of a devil. Some snuff was administered without effect, after which a pupil of the exorcist beat the patient violently on the head, chest and back, with a heavy stick, alleging that the devil, a very stubborn one, would feel the effects of the beating and that the girl would be uninjured. She died from the effects of this maltreatment.

If any proof be needed of what was stated above as to the belief in witchcraft having been adopted from their Hindu neighbours, by the lower class of Mahomedans, it is sufficiently corroborated by some facts which transpired at Behar about 50 years ago. This district has been notorious for the prevalence of witch persecution. An old woman belonging to a Mahomedan family had been tormented for years on suspicion of being a witch. The family was driven from the village and deprived of their social position, and outcasted by all their neighbours. Overwhelmed with despair, and seeing no relief from the persecution as long as the woman lived, her husband and son rid themselves of the incubus by murdering her. From the inquiry which took place, it appeared that the murderers as well as the rest of the villagers were convinced of the occult powers of the deceased.

Somewhat analogous to the foregoing is the group of offences which are popularly known as "dharna." The term is familiar to most residents of this country, but its exact significance is perhaps scarcely appreciated. The person practising *dharna* sits at the door of the house where his debtor resides, in order to compel repayment of a loan or arrears of pay or pension due from a public officer or prince. The sitter observes a strict fast which is compulsory also on the creditor. If the suitor dies, the creditor becomes the object of divine displeasure. Originally the person so sitting was a Brahmin, and the creditor was exposed to the consequences of Brahminicide. The significance of the act depended originally on the exaltation of the priestly class in Manu and the commentators. This mode of recovering debts is, however, authorized by Manu for all classes of Hindus. *Dharna* is defined by Brihaspati (one of the most esteemed commentators) as consonant to moral duty (*dharma*) and it indicates "the means of recovery of debt by the interposition of friends and kinsmen, by mild remonstrances, by importunate following or by performing *dharna* before the house of the debtor." As time went on, no doubt the dread of divine vengeance diminished, and latterly the

* Vivada Chintamoni by Piosanna Coomar Tagore, 1863, page 43.

efficacy of *dharna*, except in the case of Brahmins, began to fail, although it was also common among professional beggars and vagabonds who often succeeded in extorting alms by a very moderate amount of self-denial. Where the practice was adopted by persons professionally addicted to austerities and of a stout moral fibre, especially when confronted with obstinate opponents, the consequences were often serious and even fatal.

As might be expected, where the crime originated from the reverence felt for Brahmins, it was in the province of Benares that the matter was first brought to light. A proclamation was issued in 1792 in that city, and was incorporated in a Regulation in the year 1795. Two strange blunders were perpetrated in this Regulation. The first was in making it applicable to Brahmins alone; and the second in directing that the matter should be referred to the Pundits of the Court for an exposition of the law according to the *Shastras*. The penal clauses were weak in the extreme. If the offence was declared by the Pundits to have been committed according to the Hindu law, the offender is to be expelled from the province and lose the sum for which the act was perpetrated. If on the other hand the Pundits averred that the circumstances deposed to did not constitute the offence, and the Court is of opinion that according to the "common construction and received meaning" of the term, the offender was actually guilty, the Court is to take an engagement from the offender not to perform the act of *dharna* or anything analogous to it in future—on pain of suffering the full penalty on the next occasion.

In 1799 an attempt was made to correct the mistakes of this enactment. The Pundits were exhorted not to consider themselves fettered by the exact definition of *dharna* in the sacred books, but to regard the offence in its common acceptation and to find guilty all individuals practising any kind of duress for the recovery or extortion of money. A fine up to a limit of 1,000 sicca rupees was also added to the penalties described above. It was not until 1820 that Government at last discovered what might have been, one would have thought, sufficiently obvious when they first undertook to repress these practices, that Hindu Pundits, themselves Brahmins, were not the appropriate authorities from whom to expect a condemnation of acts which are expressly sanctioned by the Hindu law. The Government had in fact made the same mistake as has been already noticed in the case of *sutti* with the additional disadvantage that while, in the latter case, the texts authorizing *sutti* are doubtful and contradictory, in the former case, there is no doubt of the act being a legal mode of recovering a debt by Hindu jurisprudence. The Government

ascertained at the same time that *dharma* was punishable under the ordinary Mahomedan law "under the head of *zulm* or oppression." The authority of the Pundits was therefore abolished and the punishment on conviction increased to imprisonment in the civil jail for 1 year and with fine up to Rs. 1,000. The offence disappeared within a very few years of the passing of these provisions.

The following illustrations furnish specimens of the salient features of the crime and at the same time indicate still further the ludicrous notions of criminal justice entertained by the Pundits.

In a case at Agra, in 1813, six wandering fakirs went to the shop of a Mahajan, or native banker, and insisted on his giving each of them a rupee and a blanket. On this being refused, they went to a mango grove outside the town and remained for some days without food, hanging up in front of them, on one of the trees, an effigy * which was a rude representation of Changa Mal the Mahajan. After some days the fakirs dug a hole in the ground and one of their number sat in it, earth being heaped over him by his companions. Another sat beside him with his legs half buried in the earth and his face smeared with black ointment, automatically beating two sticks together and reciting the formulæ of various curses. The bystanders at last interposed, but not until one of the fakirs had been suffocated by the earth thrown upon him.

A less tragical instance of the same crime took place at Benares in 1808. The prisoner had been ousted from what he claimed as a permanent holding of land, by Rajah Udit Narayan of Ramnagar and he sat for 16 days near a grocer's shop, about 100 yards from the door of the palace, subsisting on nothing but *sharbut*. Emissaries from the palace entreated him to eat, but he declared that he would not satisfy his hunger until his demands had been complied with. His defence was that as he had made no attempt to kill himself or to prevent the Rajah from taking food, he was not guilty of *dharma*. The opinion of the Hindu law officers of the Nizamut Adalut refers to the text of Manu as authorizing the recovery of property "by stratagem, by *acharitum* and even by force." In the Metak Shara *acharitum* is defined as abstinence from food and Brihaspati adds that "sitting at the door must be added to complete the act of *acharituum*." They therefore acquitted him, as the place where he sat was 100 yards from the Rajah's gate and he did not wholly abstain from sustenance.

* This is suggestive of the well-known medieval practice, among professors of the black art, of making a wax image of the victim and subjecting it to various tortures, in order that the person so typified should suffer in a similar manner.

In two other cases at Mirzapore and Hooghly, in 1820, property was successfully extorted by this means. In one case the sitter, a Sudra—was accompanied by his family priest (the procedure usually adopted where the creditor is not a Brahmin) and after 3 days' abstinence from food the demand for money was complied with. In the other case the sitter gashed himself in the thigh with a razor, and on his threatening further violence money was handed to him. In both these cases the Hindu Vyavashta was for acquittal. In both, the Pundits relied on the dicta of the Shastras and deliberately ignored the provisions of the Government Regulation.

A horrible practise, which has fallen as completely into oblivion as the foregoing, was probably almost obsolete at the beginning of the century. I refer to the custom of burning or burying alive persons suffering from leprosy. The custom originated in a passage from the Brahma Purana. "Let the man who is afflicted with a grievous and incurable disease enter a burning fire or procure his death by starvation, or by drowning or by precipitating himself from an eminence." The writer goes on to promise future felicity to the man who throws himself from the sacred Bur tree, at Pryag (Allahabad.) This is one of the numerous criminal practises copied by the Mahomedans from the Hindus. The Courts invariably viewed the crime leniently and considered it closely allied in principle with the sacrifice of *sutti*. It was equally excepted from the scope of the Regulation against the abetment of suicide (Regulation 7 of 1799.) The sufferer, as a rule, desires suicide by fire, both as a means of eradicating the hereditary taint from his family and as purifying his own soul from the stigma of the disease, which is regarded as the punishment of sin incurred during another birth. If the relatives shew any disinclination to assist, imprecations are launched upon their heads with the usual effect of producing compliance. The common mode, of effecting the immolation of a leper, was to dig a large pit into which dry fuel is thrown. This was lighted by the relatives and the leper plunged into the midst of the flames after which the mouth of the pit was closed up. Although, as before suggested, it is no part of the Mahomedan creed that special disabilities are incurred in the next life, by the souls of those who die from leprosy, in this, as in so many other cases, toleration succeeds to persecution and imitation follows. Two cases of the kind are reported as having occurred at Goruckpore in 1810. One of these cases is that of a man who burned his mother-in-law, alive, in accordance with her earnest entreaties. She suffered from the most frightful and intractable form of the disease, and was all but dead when her premature interment was effected in a pit which had been prepared for the purpose. It is noticeable

that in fully one-half the reported cases the accused persons were Mahomedans.

I now close my description of obsolete crimes. There are a few other phases of extinct depravity which might find place in these pages, such as Thuggi and Infanticide among the Rajputs, but so much has been written on these subjects, both in the form of history and of romance, that my remarks would have no novelty. What I have hitherto written, if it possesses any interest at all, can only be of use to the student of morbid morality or the antiquarian. To be of any sociological value, it is necessary to follow out in modern life the residuum, wherever it exists, of criminal practices connected with religion or superstition which have now happily disappeared. To do this completely would require a careful study and exact observation of native life in all its phases, and would be in fact to compile a history of modern Hindu morals. I have no pretensions to the ability necessary for so difficult a task, even if I had the time to collect the necessary data. I append, however, a few facts which have come to my notice, which I venture to present as having some sociological bearing on the modern developments of certain obsolete practices.

To resume briefly the subject of human sacrifice, it may be observed that the belief in the Tantras has by no means died out. The practice of destroying children, at Sagur and elsewhere, has undoubtedly been stopped; but the same superstitious feeling which prompted the immolation of infants exists and finds a less blood-thirsty outlet. The practice undoubtedly originated through dread of one of the attributes of the goddess Kali or Devi, who unless appeased with human blood would possibly destroy the whole family. Accordingly when one or more children in a household died prematurely or mysteriously, it was thought that by sacrificing one of the survivors to this deity, the remainder would be preserved and the curse averted. The modern phase of this idea shews itself in the practice of propitiating the deity by giving the children names indicating their small worth, e. g. Ekkari, Tinkari, Punchkari (one, three or five cowries.) Similarly the children are called *Chakar* (servant) and *Golam* (slave), to mark their utter insignificance. It is hoped that the goddess will spare things of such contemptable value. Occasionally the ceremony of transferring children, as a gift to their neighbours, and repurchasing them for two or three cowries is assumed to have taken place. Thus the proprietorship of the child is, so to speak, shifted and the unlucky fate which would befall actual members of the family may be averted. Human sacrifice, though obsolete as an authorized

from of the Hindu ritual, cannot be said however to have absolutely disappeared. About ten years ago a "Sanyasi" or ascetic was tried at the Sessions Court of Murshedabad, for the murder of a man in his temple of Kali, and it is believed the victim was intended as a human sacrifice to Devi. At a place called Kali-tala, a human being was sacrificed within the memory of old men still living, by some influential inhabitants of Beldanga.

An interesting account of human sacrifice in Rajputana is given in the *Englishman* newspaper of 23rd October 1886. The sacrifice of two women was agreed upon in order to move the Revenue authorities of Tonk to exempt the inhabitants of the village from a heavy assessment of certain lands. The rite is described as "Johor" but has been incorrectly so designated. "Johur" is essentially a Rajput rite and it dignifies the burning of women to save their honour. It is gladly welcomed by the Rajput women, who prefer self-immolation to the risk of the suffering insults from a conquering force. It was practised on a large scale at the siege of Chitoor by the Mahomedans in A.D. 1303 and 1530,—many thousands of women having been burned to death. Such acts of sublime self-devotion cannot be stigmatized as crimes. In the present instance the sacrifice had apparently no connexion with the worship of Devi, as human females have never under any circumstances been offered to Kali. (See the Kalika Purana.) But these outbursts of fanaticism are becoming more and more infrequent and are, it need hardly be said, utterly opposed to public opinion.

The modern developments of the ancient custom of *dharna* are interesting, as shewing that the bent of the Hindu mind, in the direction of *dharna*, has been uninfluenced by legislation, although the criminal phases of it have disappeared. *Dharna* is still practised by orthodox Hindus, before the temples of Baidyanath, Tarakeswar, Rudra Deb, near Kandi, and at other shrines. Persons suffering from serious diseases, for which medicines have failed, frequently sit *dharna* at Baidyanath. The devotee first purifies himself by baths and other ceremonies and then lies prone without food or water, behind the shrine, until a visitation occurs. This generally takes the form of an old Brahmin appearing to him, in a dream, and directing him what to adopt as a remedy. The same practice is observed, though not so commonly, in order to obtain other favors, such as success in an important undertaking. Instances of *dharna* at the favorite shrines of Tarakeswar and Baidyanath are of constant occurrence. Occasionally supplicants at the famous shrines believe that they obtain revelations from the god. In 1864, I am informed, two individuals, a Brahmin and a washerman of Jitpore, in

this district, sat *dharna* at Baidyanath. Both were suffering from inveterate colic and had tried various medicines without any effect. For three days they fasted and prostrated themselves before the idol. On the fourth day, the washerman received a revelation, in a dream, that he would be cured if he ate some English bread sold in the Bazaar. The remedy was not, however, efficacious, for the washerman died a month after his return to his native village. The Brahmin was directed, in a vision, to purchase sweetmeats and offer them to the god and afterwards partake of them himself, with the other Brahmins of the neighbourhood. These directions were faithfully observed, but without effect. The Brahmin complained bitterly that in the present age even the gods were false.

Sometimes the supposed behests of the deity can only be carried out at the expense of the caste of the supplicant. A few years ago a Brahmin of Chandpore, who suffered from leprosy, sat *dharna* at the shrine of Baidyanath and dreamed that he would be cured of his loathsome disease, if he partook of the remains of a dish of rice and curry prepared by a certain Sudra of the Kaibarta (or cultivator) caste. The supernatural visitant had explained to the Brahmin that the Sudra was his father in a former birth, and that leprosy was the penalty or expiation for his having ill-treated and beaten his father in the previous state of existence. Nothing would bring the suffering to an end but the humiliating act of taking the refuse of the Kaibartas meal. Unhappily for the proper fulfilment of the penance, the Kaibarta had not been himself apprised of the relationship of the Brahmin to himself and stoutly refused to involve himself and his family in a sin of this magnitude. Accordingly the leprous Brahmin sat *Dharna* at the door of the Kaibarta, in order to force the latter to obey the injunctions of the deity. The sequel of this story has not transpired.

Some facts, which I am informed recently occurred in the Hooghly district, indicate a phase of *dharna* which is almost a modern counterpart of the story of Naboth's vineyard with however a different termination. The father of an official of Berhampore possessed a valuable pond, near his house, stocked with fish. A rich and powerful neighbour coveted this pond and offered a large sum of money for it without success. He next endeavoured to obtain it by litigation but this resource also failed. Finally he sent a number of his servants to take possession of it by force. The owner of the pond, who was at the time worshipping his family idol, driven to desperation, brought out his idol into the sun and threatened to keep it there so long as condign punishment was not inflicted on his powerful

enemy. He remained fasting in the presence of the idol and after three days the tyrant and his whole family were swept away by sudden and fatal illness.

Dharna is also practised at Shradhs and funeral ceremonies of rich people. There is a low class of Brahmins called Bhats or Fastidars who attend the feast uninvited, like the umbræ of the Roman banquets. They sing songs in praise of the departed, in which they dwell on the beatitude he is about to enjoy in heaven, and one of their number beats a brass dish and importunes the surviving relatives for money. Alms are, I am informed, almost invariably bestowed by the head of the family, although to a less extent than is demanded. Alms given on this occasion are supposed to be of spiritual benefit to the soul of the departed and public opinion would not sanction the beggars being driven away without recompense. Occasionally, however, when necessity arises, the mendicant Brahmins adopt the old practice in its integrity. They threaten to sit at the door until they are relieved and sometimes even to throw themselves down from a high tree if their petitions for aid are refused. These cases are, however, rare and instances do not occur of such extreme threats being carried out. Prosecutions would not be sanctioned by Hindu social feeling.

The belief in sorcery and witchcraft is still so widespread that its present disassociation from crime is a remarkable instance of the power of legislation to counteract those offences which arise from superstitious causes. There is in fact, as in South Italy at the present day, scarcely a village of rural Bengal which does not possess its witch. The anxious mother catches up her child as soon as the witch is seen to approach, and she murmurs some simple incantation to bring to naught the charm of the evil eye. The witches are popularly supposed to possess the power of sucking the blood of healthy children and animals. The belief is no doubt a variant of the vampire incubus of Eastern Europe. These hags to this day practise extortion among the women of Bengal who dread their occult powers. There are other acts employed to counteract their malignity besides the bestowal of alms. They are detected sometimes by salt being placed on their heads, which causes them to turn round and mutter incoherent words, and, to deprive them of their skill, they are persuaded to eat sweetmeats in which dung has been surreptitiously inserted. Occasionally the trembling mother spits on the head of her child, to render him witch-proof, or gently bites his little finger. No woman of the lower orders, who lives in a village infested by a witch, would venture to leave her house with her child, until she had secured immunity for herself and her child by putting a small circular piece of cow-dung on his forehead.

There are various modes of treatment for persons supposed to be under the influence of a witch. If a child suffers from, illness caused by the curse of a witch, one orthodox mode of cure is to mark the forehead of the patient with burnt turmeric. Water, over which spells have been muttered, is also sprinkled over the child and the forehead is rubbed over with burnt wicks of earthen lamps fed with mustard oil. The leaves of plum trees are also favourite medicaments, and the branches of the *ber* tree are sometimes waved over the patient.

Side by side with the witches there is another class of individuals, possessing occult powers, to be found in all places of any importance, called Rojahs or Ojhas. Like the witches these people are believed to possess great powers for evil, but unlike the former they use their skill also for beneficent purposes. Just as the dock has been placed by nature side by side with the nettle, so the Rojah lives in close proximity to the witch, and if any bewitched child is beyond the reach of the simple remedies, abovementioned, the Ojha or sorcerer is called in. These Rojahs or Ojhas are generally Bagdis or a low class of Mohomedans. Their treatment though often violent, does not in modern times result in death, as in the case quoted in a former page. The sorcerer takes his place in front of his patient with flowers, a lamp and incense burning before him. Burnt turmeric and charmed mustard seed are given to the bewitched person to smell, and cold water is dashed with violence upon his face. Sometimes the treatment of the patient at the hands of an Ojha vicariously tortures the witch. An Ojha is said in one instance to have squeezed the juice of a certain plant on the eyes of a bewitched child. The witch immediately complained of pain in the eyes which she lost and the child was cured.

In a case supposed to be more serious, as I have heard from an eye-witness, a female suffering probably from hysteria or puerperal mania was seated in front of an Ojha. A fire was lighted between them and the Ojha taking mustard oil into his mouth forcibly ejected it through the flames on to the woman. The burning oil produced blisters and the patient in her agony cried out the name of a deceased person whose soul had taken possession of her body.

The people of Kamrup (Assam) are traditionally believed to be sorcerers, and the women of some villages between Goahaty and Goalpara are supposed to possess a mesmeric influence over any men who come in contact with them. By far the most formidable magic powers are, however, attributed to the Tantric Brahmins. The Tantras have already been alluded to in connection with human sacrifice ; their mystical rites are still practised with great secrecy, and in the dead of

night, in some deserted temple or burning ghaut. The Tantras are sacred books containing incantations and rules for the observance of ceremonies. The charms themselves are believed to be the words of the god Siva. There are several Sanscrit commentaries on the Tantric practices and modern works are published explanatory of them. The doctrine of the Tantras consists of an exposition of the various modes in which the human mind can be subjugated and occult powers exerted to produce miraculous results. This is accomplished in three ways (1) Through the agency of spirits or lower deities who are made subservient to the purposes of the magician. (2) Through natural causes intensified by the agency of the occult powers of the magician. (3) By herbs and other plants charmed by means of mantras. Among the most famous modern works on this subject is "Swaroday" which may be said to give a complete manual of the Black Art. In it the days and hours for the magician's operations are carefully explained and the different branches of the expert's power are separately treated. Of the six modes in which the Tantric Brahmin can influence his neighbours, four are malignant, one is doubtful and only one beneficial. The four malignant effects of the incantations are the causing of death (*máran*), the destruction of property or mental capacity (*uchhaton*), the stoppage of his physical and mental action (*stambhon*) and the causing of feuds between friends (*Bidveshan*). The art of "bashikaran" or bringing an individual completely under the control of the expert may be said to be of neutral type. The only branch of white magic discussed is "Shantikarma," the power of relieving a sufferer from disease or the hostile influence of the stars.

The mode of acquiring powers, which will enable the student to act upon mankind in any of the foregoing ways, varies in difficulty according to the magnitude of the task to be undertaken. The recitation of cabalistic words, consisting of unintelligible Sanskrit roots, in the presence of an expert at specified places, thousands of times, multitudinous burnt offerings and libations of ghee, baths and the feastings of Brahmins, take a prominent place in the initiation of the neophyte.

The art most frequently practised, and the belief in which extends almost throughout the cultivated classes of Bengal, is that of "Bashikaran." Certain ingredients are prescribed, consisting of a small piece of the frontal bone of a man, the fruit of *dhutura*, camphor and honey. If these are mixed together, in proper proportions, and the forehead is painted with the compound, the wearer may bring under his influence and control the mind of any person whom he fears or loves. The marks on the forehead of old fashioned Hindus, although they are produced by a simpler method than is above described, are

nevertheless traceable to an analogous source, viz., the wish to produce a favorable impression on as superior. Other nostrums, increasing in complexity and gruesomeness, as the higher flights of the black art are reached, are to be found in the treatises. Many of the electuaries of the text books can only be paralleled by the witches'-caldron in Macbeth. A quite modern work called "Indra Jaladi Sangraha" has been published, in which the charms and medicines for killing an enemy by occult means, turning him into an animal or stopping the exercise of his mental faculties, are carefully indicated. It would, be unconnected with the object of this article to give more than a cursory description of the modern pseudoscientific aspects of witch-craft and sorcery. I wish, however, to lay stress on the undoubted fact that the elements of superstition which existed in the beginning of the century, and led to the torture and murder of so-called witches and sorcerers, are appreciably present in modern Bengal society. The following illustrations bearing on the subject, which have all been collected within a brief period, from sources which I believe to be trustworthy, are well authenticated and they will indicate the extent to which educated individuals are affected by the dread of occult and astrological influences.

A few years ago the father of a Government official, in the 24 Pergunnahs, suffered from malignant fever, which increased so rapidly that he suspected the evil influence of some of the inmates of his family. He therefore sent for an exorcist (*ojha*). The latter told the sufferer that the culprit was a young man, living at the time in his house and under great obligations to him. The Babu was astonished to hear that his favors had been repaid with the basest ingratitude and declined for sometime to believe the accusation. The youth, however, at once confessed his guilt, stating that he had at one time learned certain "mantras" which, when called to mind in the sight of any one suffering from illness, would in spite of his wishes to the contrary have a prejudicial effect on the disease. The efficacy of these '*Mantras*' - was, however, by the advice of the *ojha*, destroyed by their being whispered into the ears of a goat and no obstacle then remained to the Babu's recovery. So in South Italy, even to this day, it is believed by the lower orders, that the efficacy of the mass may be destroyed by the spells of a witch, who mutters them during its celebration.

Another narrative of events which happened in the family of a wealthy man near Krishnagar, two years ago, illustrates the modern belief in astrology as an agent of good and evil. One of the Babu's children died at a conjunction of the planets, which is particularly inauspicious, and unless counteracted involves the whole family in ruin. Certain ceremonies were

therefore performed with a view to avert the evil, and transfer the ill effects of the planetary conjunction to some other family. Some children, belonging to a neighbouring household in which no domestic loss had recently occurred, were invited to partake of some sweetmeats in which certain mystical ingredients had been mixed. One of these accepted the invitation and died within three days, and this death was shortly followed by another within the same family from no ostensible cause. The whole village became aware of the evil machinations that had been practised, and 50 years ago no doubt the popular indignation would have culminated in crime.

The jealousy of rival experts is frequently said to have tragical results. A relation of one of the officials of Berhampore who had studied the black art at Kamroop, from the most celebrated performers, witnessed a performance by a famous *ojha* at Nakashipar, in the district of Nuddea, some years ago, and after it was over, he muttered certain charms through which the *ojha* lost his way on leaving the house, fell down and vomited blood. The occult powers of the *ojha* enabled him to detect his opponent, and he determined to revenge himself. A few days afterwards, his enemy was entering the Temple of Ananda Moyi with some cobras round his neck which he had caught in the jungle and which he had charmed into quiescence. The *Ojha* destroyed by incantations the influence of the *Mantras* and the cobras bit the Kamroop magician fatally.

The last illustration, I think it necessary to adduce, consists of facts which happened in the district of Berhampore very recently, and in which the dread of occult agency affected the conduct of an enlightened zemindar of high standing and wealth. The water in a certain pond, in the inner apartments of the residence, had run low, and a staff of coolies under the superintendence of an overseer were employed to draw water into it, from a neighbouring tank. The water rose to a certain height, but, though the usual hydraulic apparatus is said to have been used, it would not rise beyond the root of a certain *Akund* tree on the bank. Further efforts were made without success. The contractor refused to continue the operation as he suspected sorcery. Owing to persuasion and ridicule he was at last induced to continue, but shortly afterwards lost his wife and one of his sons through fever. Finally he was himself seized with fever and he dreamed that a Brahmin *Daiya* or ghost was living under the *Akund* tree and that it was against the wishes of the *Daiya* that the water should rise beyond the root of the tree. The Zemindar on being apprised of these facts at once stopped the work.

*These brief instances of modern superstition might be

indefinitely extended from the materials that are abundantly available in every district, but I have not thought it necessary to adduce others, because these are sufficient to serve as typical examples of certain occult springs of action which are still operative among the upper and educated classes of Bengal. Belief in demonology and witchcraft, is undoubtedly neither so extensive nor so strong as in the early part of the century. The tendency to associate bloodshed with the religious rites of *Siva* and *Kali* is not so powerful. The utilization of the threatened anger of the deity as a means of extortion, is less effectual than it was. All these causes are, however, still operative, and even now occasionally some tragedy bursts forth which shews that like the sudden eruption of a long slumbering volcano, the forces of superstition are only dormant. But it is impossible to deny that very much has been gained, and that what Mr. Walter Bagehot calls "verifiable progress" in morality has been established. Many of the modern illustrations shew no doubt that the principle of corporate liability to good and evil fortune, from superstitious causes which is a survival of the earliest stages of national life, is still existent. It still shews itself in the persecution of a witch by the whole community, in which one of its members is supposed to have fallen under the evil eye. It crops up as the basis of the human sacrifice to avert famine, pestilence and political disaster which even now is not unknown.

But the causes which led to many of the phases of crime in earlier days, if still in existence are less energetic than they were. The historian of morals during the last century, would find that the proportion of crime attributable to the traditions of custom, to the adoption by the Aryan immigrants of the bloodthirsty rites of the aboriginal races, and to ancient sanguinary laws, bears a gradually decreasing ratio to the aggregate. These ameliorated features in the pathology of crime are due to easily recognizable causes. One is the gradual progress of rationalism in Bengal, arising directly and indirectly through the English conquest. With regard to the influence exercised by the conquering race on the conquered in this century, Mr. Walter Bagehot wrote as follows in his admirable work on "Physics and Politics," p. 145. "The experience of the English in India shews—if it shews anything—that a highly civilized race may fail in producing a rapidly excellent effect on a less civilised race, because it is too good and too different. The two are not *en rapport* together; the merits of the one are not the merits prized by the other; the manner-language of the one is not the manner-language of the other. The higher being is not and cannot be a model for the lower; he could not mould himself on it if he would, and would not if he could. Consequently,

the two races have long lived together. 'near and yet far off,' daily seeing one another and daily interchanging superficial thoughts, but in the depths of their mind separated by a whole era of civilisation, and so affecting one another only a little in comparison with what might have been hoped." But one may venture to suggest, that in this passage, true as it is in many respects, the author did not sufficiently regard the indirect influences of the education which the English Government introduced and the effect of which in permeating public opinion operates in the same ratio as the increase of population.

The other cause is the beneficial effect of the system of law which gradually replaced the archaic tenets of the Koran and the Hedaya, the course of which I have endeavoured imperfectly to trace in the earlier pages of this article. Among a people whose religious views and customs and history render their minds peculiarly malleable in their exterior relations with each other, by the despotic enactments of a Foreign Power, there can be no doubt that the English Government acted with what appears to us unaccountable timidity and tardiness in destroying the gangrenes which were poisoning the fountains of society. The acquiescence of the people in the enlightened counsels which ultimately prevailed, during the Viceroyalties of Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck, should be both a guide and an encouragement to the Government of the present day, in grappling with the social problems of equal gravity which still remain as a blot on our administration of India.

T. DURANT BEIGHTON.

FREDERICK ARCHER. IN MEMORIAM.

IT would hardly be right to publish this number without some reference to perhaps the greatest event in English history during the last few months. In a great nation there are many classes and interests which exist independently of the general national life, and it is only at times that incidents in the history of these classes and interests rise to be of national importance. Such an incident occurs when one of those men passes away who, by superlative excellence in their own sphere, have become representatives of their class above and beyond it.

One of the prevailing features in modern English life is the increased love of, and interest in, athletic exercises. Some people will be found to regret that this is so, and would wish our energies to be turned more in the direction of study. But to those who feel that a day may come when the qualities which athletic exercise keeps alive may be required for their country's defence, the spirit which admires a great rider, a great cricketer, or a great runner can hardly seem undesirable.

Of all the sports of the field there is none which deserves to attract, and none which attracts, so much attention as racing. It is needless to dilate here upon the pleasures of this pursuit, for to those who experience them they are indescribable, and to those who do not, they are unintelligible. But it is noticeable how much of the thoughts and conversation of Englishmen is occupied with racing, and that the number of those who take this interest is still increasing. All these, both at home and abroad, will feel a loss, as of a personal friend, in the death of Frederick Archer.

To write the history of Archer's career would be to write the history of racing in England for the last fourteen years. There was scarcely an important race in which he did not take a part, and there were few in which that part was not a principal one. He made mistakes at times, notably perhaps when he lost the Hardwicke Stakes at Ascot on Silvio in 1879. And he was fortunate in winning two, at least, of his most famous races, the Derby on Bend Or and the St. Leger on Dutch Oven—by the respective bad riding of his opponents on Robert the Devil and Beheimniss. But it was rarely, indeed, that he did not do all, or more than all, that mortal could do to win the race in which he was riding.

Many used to say while he lived that Archer was the greatest man in England. Now that he is dead many talk of him as 'only a jockey.' The fact is that the greatness of a rider of races is not actual but potential. As far as his work in the world goes, he is 'only a jockey.' He merely wins or loses races. But in those qualities which he must possess to be successful, there lies the possibility of far higher things than most of us are capable of.

The endurance as of an ascetic, the perfect obedience to orders, the sterling honesty, the iron will, the power of seeing and using a momentary opportunity which Archer so preëminently possessed, might, under other circumstances, have placed him beside the heroes of Waterloo, of Rambles and of Plassey. His destiny was otherwise. And now we can only say that, as race-riding is the highest form of athletic exercise, so Archer was the greatest of race riders.

One of the saddest things about our life in India is the constant feeling between our brief visits to England, that things there are changing and will never be the same again. This feeling is intensified when we hear of the deaths of those in whom we are interested or whom we admire. Those who have found their keenest pleasure in watching good horses well ridden, will miss few of the old familiar sights more than that of the great horseman.

The horses or others like them remain. Bend Or is succeeded by Ormonde. Isonomy is represented by Bendigo. And Epsom Downs and Ascot Heath and Newmarket are unchanged by time. But there is none worthy to catch the mantle of Archer. And as we picture to ourselves the horses without his gaunt figure and commanding horsemanship, as we think that we have heard for the last time the reverberating cry of "Archer wins," we know and feel that with him "there has passed away a glory from the earth."

AN OLD TURFITE.

THE BIRDS.

THE BOGOOLA. (A PADDY BIRD.)

All in the marsh he stands about,
Or stalks along the mud,
And jobs the frogs with speary snout
Or hunts his brother bird :
Bogoola, hunting bogoola.

On snowy wing he heaves in sight
And lights by water near me.
Like lightning on a summer night
Or jack-o-lantern's fitful light,
He comes to vanish. Dear me ;
Not loudly saying " Bogoola."

Chameleon-like his change I ween
Poised on one leg to think,
Then slowly, with sage pause between,—
A ghost invisible in green—
Two yellow legs to stalk are seen
Along the water's brink :
Bodyless legs of Bogoola.

The avenue hath *toon* trees high
Where callow young they rear.
At dawn and when the night is nigh
Their true-love songs I hear
"Bogoola bogoologoola."

There is an island in the lake
Where thousands of them breed.
As on the herring doth the hake
A fiend on them doth feed.
The Bogoola he gobbleth,
End of the Bogoola.

THE FISH-EAGLE.

By night and day, a main
He shrieks, nor shrieks in vain.
Across the wide champaign
Or waters clear and chill
He loud doth shrill ;
And lesser beasts and birds
And even fish are still.

His is no idle call,
Far in the highest heaven
Soaring he cries to all.

Miles off it rings
And the regard of all
To him is duly given
For he is of the kings

Of air. Hark! Loud and bleak,
Fiend-like, defiant, rings
Reiterate his eldritch shriek.
As if bereft of wings—
An angel fallen—he falls :
He penetrates the deep.
The fishes he appals
Yet ere the water's toucht
A triton huge is clutcht.

He drags his victim from its home
With fiercest struggles set in foam
And rises from the tide,
Then to the giant fig-tree's bough
He saileth in his pride.

Twixt sea and sky I see him now
The monster fish astride.
Anon poor, terror-stricken birds
Arise on silvery wing
And o'er their harried nests
Flitting with fluttered breasts
Wail loud ; while he the king
With scythe-like move-
Ment singles out the thing.

Of helpless Bogoola brood—
To him but pretty food—
The fiend doth make another meal
Nor pity take
But shrieks, withal, amain.
His mate replies again,
And once again
The welkin loudly rings.

THE QUARTER.

THE principal events of the quarter under review, European and Indian, have been:—The Bulgarian crisis continued; the growing discontent of Austria with Russian policy, and Russian designs in the Balkan peninsula; the French irritation against England in consequence of our continued occupation of Egypt; the defeat of Mr. Parnell's Bill in the House of Commons; the recovery or partial recovery of silver; the Burma campaign continued through the history of a very unsatisfactory chapter indeed; the death of General Macpherson; the public Service Commission; the Currency Commission; the final Resolution of the Government of India on the Hindu widow remarriage movement; the operations and termination of the Finance Commission and the sensational cases of Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Trail.

The Bulgarian crisis was advanced several stages during the quarter under review, but has not reached the stage of solution and settlement as yet. Russia has no immediate intention of occupying Bulgaria. Nor is it necessary that she should do so unless Bulgarian animosity to Russia reaches the acute stage and the Bulgarian Government succeeds in emancipating Bulgaria from Russian influence and interference altogether. Under these circumstances, it is most earnestly to be hoped that moderate counsels will prevail at Sophia, and that the Regency will not precipitate a crisis which can involve nothing but disaster and humiliation for Bulgaria, and for all those wider European interests which Bulgaria, as an independent country, represents. The bane of English foreign policy under Mr. Gladstone was sentimentalism. We may deplore Russian ascendancy in Bulgaria, but that ascendancy, as an accomplished fact, must be accepted and recognised. Russia freed Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke. Russia reorganised and officered the Bulgarian army, and Russia afforded the most substantial financial support to Bulgaria in connection with the establishment of Bulgarian civil administration after the war with Turkey had been brought to a close. Russia's right to a paramount interest in Bulgaria is, therefore, altogether unquestionable. It is founded on quite as strong a basis as our right to a paramount influence in Egypt, the Transvaal or Upper Burma, before the annexation. This is precisely what politicians of the sentimental school, whether in England or on the Continent, refuse to

see. This is the great political fact of the current phases of the Bulgarian question against which they resolutely shut their eyes, in order that they may *not* see it. But it must be recognised, and its timely recognition will have the effect of preventing any isolated or Quixotic interference in Bulgarian affairs by our Government, until we can move in concert with the other powers towards a practical and substantial solution of the Eastern difficulty. With Austria it is somewhat different. Her interest in the question is direct and immediate—ours, indirect and remote. We can well afford to let her take the lead, and indications are not wanting (the Three-Emperor alliance, notwithstanding) that she will take that lead in a very decisive manner indeed at no distant date. The flowers that bloom in the spring may possibly, nay probably, bloom for the celebration of another great European war. "The nations do but murmur snarling at each others heels," but the snarling process is becoming more acute and more universal every day, Austria is snarling at Russia—Russia is snarling at Bulgaria—France is snarling at England, and Germany, passive but watchful and prepared, is watching the snarling process on every side. "Go in and win" is her advise to them all—win from each other and leave me the supreme arbiter of your destinies when the supreme and critical moment for interference arrives.

Mr. Parnell's Bill, for the suspension of the Act relating to payment of judicial rents, was rejected, in the House of Commons by a very substantial majority. The policy of unvarying concession and surrender to Irish claims has been suddenly reversed at last. According to Mr. Parnell the effect of this rejection will be altogether disastrous. It will alienate the Irish people from British rule, and from the Irish landlords, to an extent, and in a sense, not dreamed of in Lord Randolph Churchill's philosophy. This would be a terrible prospect, indeed, if we did not know that nothing that was ever done, or left undone, by a British Government could add the weight of a feather to the feeling against England and the landlords which animates that section of the Irish people which Mr. Parnell's Bill was intended to propitiate. In the meantime Mr. Parnell's prophecies have certainly not been realized so far. Notwithstanding the treasonous vapourings of Mr. Dillon, seconded by the example of the moonlighters, the tenants in the south are paying their rents, and the country is becoming more tranquil and contented.

Silver made an astonishing recovery during the quarter under review. It reached 1s. and 6d., and then, owing to a panic in Bombay, suffered a slight and sudden decline. To what is this owing? Perhaps the growing certainty that something must be

done to rehabilitate silver, is the real cause of this satisfactory result. In the meantime a silver controversy has been raging in the columns of the *Englishman* with varying fortunes, but no very decisive result, although, in the course of that controversy, one point at least has been made abundantly clear. The unfixed ratio leads to uncertainty in connection with commercial speculations, and uncertainty is to trade what strychnine or prussic acid is to the human system, for assuredly what the Ghost in Hamlet said of the "leprous distilment" which did take away his life, the merchant in our time may say of a varying exchange. The question, then, as it seems to us, is narrowed to a very simple issue indeed. Let it be admitted for the sake of argument that our India export trade is stimulated by a low exchange, enabling Indian produce, especially wheat, to compete on favorable terms with America and Russia. Is this a compensation, an adequate compensation, for the uncertainty which is involved in a fluctuating exchange. Mr. Yule & Co. say plainly that it is. Mr. Connor, "Lossit" & Co. say, as plainly, that it is not, and thus it is a very pretty quarrel as it stands. But "Lossit," although I generally agree with him, put forward one very curious, and as it seems to me, one very fallacious theory indeed. He measured the superior wealth of France by the extent of its metallic currency, but can the wealth of any country be really measured by such a standard? This is surely not a "disputed point" of political economy, for I think Lossit would find it extremely difficult to adduce a single authority of eminence who coincides with him in this view, and Stuart Mill repudiates it in the clearest and most decisive manner possible.

During the quarter under review, the dacoity campaign in Burma was continued with very discouraging and unsatisfactory results indeed. The dacoits are in a chronic state of being "dispersed," and in a chronic state of re-assembling at some unexpected point and being "dispersed" again. In the meantime the loss of European life, especially among the officers, goes on, and sickness has played sad havoc among our troops, both European and native. All this was perhaps inevitable under the circumstances, but the country is becoming more and more impatient of these "little wars" which cost so much in the aggregate, and if the Indian people have to bear the whole cost of the Burma campaign, they have excellent reasons for being profoundly discontented with the foreign policy of the Indian Government. The interests we are fighting for in Burma, may be very well worthy fighting for, from an Imperial point of view, but they are not in any special or exclusive degree, Indian interests, and when a country has always to pay the piper, she begins, after a time, to be a little out of humour

with the dance. Sir Herbert Macpherson is dead. This gallant soldier—this brave, kindly, and gentle English gentleman—succumbed to an attack of fever in Burma just after he had assumed the Command-in-Chief and passed away after a few days' illness. No man was more universally mourned for, no man was more universally beloved. Revered and beloved by every one, he was especially beloved by the young officers and the rank and file. If the private soldier had ever a true friend in the British army, that man was Sir Herbert Macpherson. But, as we have said in a former issue, it will not do for us to be too impatient with the apparently slow progress of the work which is now being done by our army in Upper Burma. Look at the French in Tonquin ! That campaign was anything but the walk over—the military promenade,—anticipated by the chanticleers of the Parisian press. Upper Burma is a very difficult country for military operations. It is a country of jungle and villages—and the way in which campaigns in other countries have been so often brought to a close, namely, by striking at large cities, centres of commerce and government—is all but impossible in Upper Burma. The work of pacification to be done thoroughly must, of necessity, be done somewhat slowly.

The Finance Commission has finished its labours—the members have separated—and Mr. Elliott is now engaged in embodying the result of their inquiries and recommendations in a final report. The appointed task of the Commission was, in the highest degree, both delicate and difficult, and it is too soon to predicate what the actual outcome of the inquiry will be. The administrative requirements of the country are every day becoming more onerous and more varied and extensive as well. If economy, and economy alone, is to be considered, sweeping reductions in administrative establishments might be very desirable indeed, but is everything to be sacrificed to this *feish* of modern administration? True statesmanship, in the eyes of mediocre politicians, is represented in the simple process of saving money at any cost under all circumstances. Mr. Westland and Colonel Filgate would think it a stroke of financial genius to get the administrative work done for half the money, and so it would be, from a purely financial point of view. But how about the *morale*, the contentment, efficiency and public spirit of a Service organised on these principles and for this object? But neither Mr. Westland nor Colonel Filgate concerns themselves, in the remotest degree, with this aspect of the question. They have had scarcely any district experience and few opportunities for observing the influences under which district officers do their work. They probably know almost everything which statistics can teach

them, especially financial statistics, of the facts connected with Anglo-Indian administration, and, over and above this, they are, beyond all question, exceedingly able men, but there is much relating to the quality and spirit of district work which mere statistics could never be made to represent, and which is, most assuredly not dreamed of in their narrow financial philosophy. With Mr. Elliott himself it is entirely different. He has been a district official, a Chief Secretary to a provincial administration and the ruler of a great Province. If, after this experience, Mr. Elliott confounds reform with reduction—with anything like sweeping or indiscriminate reduction—then let no man put his faith in experience, for in that there is no salvation. The theorist and doctrinaire will remain a theorist and a doctrinaire to the end of the chapter, and in spite of all temptations to "deviate into common sense," will pursue to the end the broad path which leads to mischievous and impracticable innovation. But this, as far as Mr. Elliott is concerned, is not at all probable. There is ample room in connection with Anglo-Indian administration for reductions which do not partake in any degree of anything like wholesale and indiscriminate cutting down of establishment. Some establishments are absurdly large—others again are as absurdly small—here we have room and opportunity for solid reform and that of the most useful and practical kind. Nor has the Commission been indifferent to this aspect of the question, and if there is a man living capable of vindicating the ways of Commissions to man, that man is the President of the Finance Committee.

Mr. Gibbons, the Assam planter, who was convicted of forgery by the High Court, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees, was released by the Government during the quarter under review. His sentence was remitted after he had undergone four months' imprisonment. The action of the Government in connection with this case was universally approved, and would have been still more worthy of commendation, if Mr. Gibbons had never been imprisoned at all. Mr. Gibbons, be it remembered, was tried on a charge of forgery by a jury in Assam, and the jury included several native gentlemen who will scarcely be suspected of any leaning towards a European, in a case involving a charge of alleged injustice towards one of their own race. But the jury were unanimous in their verdict of acquittal, and the Sessions Judge, disagreeing with the verdict, sent the case to the High Court. The High Court Judges who tried, or retried the case, were Mr. Justice Mitter and Mr. Justice Grant. They reversed, as we have said, the verdict of the jury, convicted Mr. Gibbons of forgery, and sentenced him

to a year's rigorous imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees. Mr. Grant, it is believed, was in favor of a still severer sentence, but yielded on this point to the better judgment of his brother Judge. This is the second time that Mr. Grant has contrived to render himself remarkable in connection with sentences of exceptional severity, sentences which shocked public opinion and necessitated the interposition of the High Court, or Government, in the interests of justice and common sense. Mr. Grant, then a District Judge, confirmed, we believe enhanced, the sentence of the Magistrate, Mr. Pugh, when that light of the Bengal judiciary, sentenced a European girl of fifteen years of age (the daughter of respectable parents) to three or four months' imprisonment for using a defaced postage stamp! The public indignation excited by this sentence was intense, the verdict was referred to the High Court and instantly quashed. Mr. Grant as a District Judge is "quashed" by the High Court. Mr. Grant as a High Court Judge is "quashed" by the Government. Where and when is this "quashing" process to end? Mr. Grant is a very conscientious and, in his way, a very able Judge, but Draco, although he was a very meritorious and estimable person in his way also, has not had many imitators on the English Bench (even including Jeffries) who are much treasured among the lights of modern civilization.

An ancient English institution—the British jury system—has been transplanted to India and is rapidly becoming, like the man-eating tree of Madagascar, one of the most extraordinary botanical growths of modern times. A dustry in the employ of Mr. Trail, the well-known Calcutta stationer and publisher, died very suddenly during the quarter under review. He fell down in fit in Mr. Trail's office, was carried home, and died immediately afterward, according to the express testimony of Dr. Mackenzie, of serous apoplexy and pneumonia. The Coroners' jury consisted of natives and East Indians—the natives being in a majority. The natives were ignorant men who did not understand a word of English, and who, probably had no idea of what was even meant by the value or credibility of evidence. One of Mr. Trail's employés, a sirdar, holding a temporary appointment in Mr. Trail's office, came forward at the Coroners' inquest and swore that he had seen Mr. Trail strike the dustry, and that the dustry had fallen down from the effects of the blow. This man's evidence was contradicted by several other witnesses who were in the office at the time, (and who had equal opportunities, according to the sirdar's own admission) of seeing what happened when the dustry fell down. It also transpired that the sirdar was a man who cherished some grudge against Mr. Trail, because he was a substitute for another man for

whom he had had to pay a fine. It was explained to the jury that the evidence of this man was absolutely worthless, and that the doctor's evidence was decisive as to the man having died from natural causes, and not from the effects of violence. But a majority of the jury, the East Indian's dissenting, brought in a verdict, against Mr. Trail, of culpable homicide not amounting to murder! The case had to be tried at the criminal sessions when, as a matter of course, Mr. Trail was instantly acquitted and discharged. But, in the meantime, Mr. Trail had been put to no end of worry, annoyance, expense and loss of valuable time, and if these things are done in the green tree what would have been done in the dry? If the Ilbert Bill had become law, and this occurrence had happened in the mofussil instead of in Calcutta, where would Mr. Trail be now? Eheu Mr. Trail!

Yet another Commission of inquiry and still another! The cry is still they come! In addition to the Finance Commission, we have the Currency Commission in England and the Public Service Commission in India. The Public Service Commission has been constituted, and no exception can be taken to any of the gentlemen who have been selected by Government to act as members of the Commission. They are all, without exception, men of experience and ability, and therefore, so far as it goes, the Commission has been very well constituted indeed. But the complaint—the most just and reasonable complaint—is that it does not go far enough. The Covenanted Civil Service is represented on the Commission by six members. The Uncovenanted Civil Service, practically, by one. None of the native members on the Commission can be accepted as representing, in any specific or useful degree, the specific claims of the Uncovenanted Services, because that other "burning question," of native aspiration—the reconstitution of the public service on a native basis—will be the main, if not, the sole object of their patriotic solicitude in connection with the inquiry. Now Mr. Ryland is a very able and a very experienced man, but he will represent on the Commission one opinion and one vote on behalf of that enormous and varied collection of administrative interests which are entrusted to the Uncovenanted Services, Public Works, Finance, Police, Education, Telegraphs, Forests, and a very large proportion of the judiciary as well. This appears to us to be a monstrous injustice which ought to be rectified at once, or the Uncovenanted Service will have no faith in the ability or disposition of the Commission to do justice to the claims of Uncovenanted Officers. Take the question of pension alone. It would be difficult, it might be entirely impossible to exaggerate the cruel, the almost overwhelming hardship

which has been inflicted on officers of the Uncovenanted Service by the depreciation of the rupee. When the rupee was at par, Uncovenanted pensions were miserable enough. Now they are only a disqualification for the poor house. The main provisions of the Uncovenanted Service Pension Code were framed forty-one years ago, when the constitution of the Unconvenanted Services was very different indeed from what it is now. The Public Works at that time consisted, for the most part of Royal Engineers and Overseers, and the Overseers were men appointed in India, men of inferior social position, who had received no regular scientific training of any kind. There was no graded police service. The Police administration was entrusted nearly altogether to military officers and inspectors, and the inspectors were for the most part Eurasians or low Europeans. The graded services in connection with Education, Forestry, Finance, Telegraphs, were not in existence. The higher schools of the period, such as they were, were officered, for the most part, by army schoolmasters and so on, and so on. All this has suffered change. Officers of the Uncovenanted Services are for the most part appointed in England—the training which they receive, to qualify them for their duties in India, is quite as elaborate and expensive as the training required for the Civil Service (in the case of Educational Officers much more so,) and they belong socially to the same classes of English society as those from which the Civil Service is recruited. Yet this is the service to which is continued the system of pension which was originally framed to reward the services of Road Overseers, Army School-masters, Police Inspectors, and that pension, miserably inadequate as it was, in the first instance, has been reduced by a third, owing to the depreciation of the rupee !

Frederick Archer, the celebrated Jockey, committed suicide, in a fit of temporary insanity, during the quarter under review. The event was regarded as a calamity by a nation devoted to the sport of which Archer was, (in connection with one of its most attractive aspects,) the most celebrated representative that ever lived. The physical qualities that distinguish a successful Jockey—nerve, skill self-control, and coolness of judgment—under the most exciting and critical circumstances—have always been held in peculiar veneration by Englishmen, and Archer's death will be regretted wherever the noblest of English sports has admirers and sympathisers in the civilized world.

In a brief, but masterly resolution, dealing with the general principles which should guide all enlightened and scientific legislation, the Government of India has summed up the reasons which influenced its final decision not to make Mr. Malabari

propositions the basis of any enactment in far of the re-marriage of Hindoo widows. This decision will commend itself to the common sense of every unprejudiced judgment. The reform desired and attempted by Mr. Malabari is "as a consumation devoutly to be wished," but could that reform be effected by any form of legislation? I do not think that it could, and we must trust to the slower but surer effects of education as the only means of reforming a system 'fraught with so many evils—so much suffering and injustice—to that most unfortunate member of society—the Hindoo widow.

During the quarter under review, Mr. James Archer, R.A., of the Royal Scotish Academy, visited India and is now in Calcutta. Mr. Archer has earned for himself a very distinguished position in the history of Modern British art. He excels as a portrait painter and many of his portraits of eminent men have been classed by the most competent art critics in England, among the masterpieces of the Modern British School. The characteristic excellence of his portraitue is an exquisite fidelity to the delicate shades of expressions, so easily recognised in almost any living human face yet so difficult to transfer to canvas, the curve of lip, the droop of an eyelid in which we have summed up for, as it were, the history of a face. Mr. Archer has often given us side by side the portrait of a beautiful child and the portrait of some celebrated public man and no contrast could be better in the direction of attesting his supreme mastery of the resources of his art. The finish of his pictures is also in its way very wonderful for the smallest details—a flower—a ring—a glove—a piece of lace—or the fold of a curtain—are elaborated with such conscientious skill—that the eye will be often be arrested and held by these accessories, as studies in themselves—marvels of imitative truth. As a colorist Mr. Archer is fond of those rich, yet subdued, colors which give what artists call warmth to a picture and, therefore, his pictures have none of that hardness of tone which is taken so much exception to by continental critics of the British school. Mr. Archer has brought with him to India some noble specimens of his best work. With the proud confidence of a true artist, he is able to point to them and say "this is what I have done this is what I can do." It is earnestly to be hoped that advantage will be taken of Mr. Archer's presence in India to secure for our public buildings some specimens of his art. There are eminent public men now in India, on the eve of retirement, whose services might be commemorated in this way and so much money has been wasted on the wretched daubs which we possess in the shape of portaits that it would

be a relief to be able to feel that we had something to show for our money at last.

The year has passed away and for either the historian or the philanthropist—for the man who studies the history of the past in order to gain some insight into the social and political destinies of the future—for the man who studies the record of the past to derive from that study some well-grounded hope respecting the moral progress of humanity—the retrospect of the year is sad and discouraging indeed. Does the world grow better as it grows older? Does the progress of wisdom and virtue keep pace with the progress of science and civilization, do we "gain in life, as life advances, valor and charity more and more?" Where is the observer who, as the result of any thoughtful or impartial sway of contemporary history, could maintain that we do? Europe is rapidly becoming a vast military camp, and at any moment the rash word may be spoken—the rash act done—which will kindle all these smouldering fires into a blaze, and plunge Europe into the crimes, miseries and horrors of a general war. Nor is this all. The year, just closed, has been prolific of revelations which throw an awful light on an awful taint in modern civilization, that growing moral depravity which, like some spreading ulcer which leech craft cannot cure, is eating its way into the very core of our national domestic life. Under such influences, with such prospects, the year closes with all that it has brought us (and that all is very little indeed) either of hope for the future or of congratulation on the past.

GEO. A. STACK.

The 20th December 1886.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Excise Administration, Punjab.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

Excluding the duty on Malwa opium (which realized Rs. 4,200 as against Rs. 42,350 in 1884-85) and the still-head duty on Shahjahanpur rum which amounted to Rs. 59,539 as against Rs. 70,439), the total receipts on account of excise revenue amounted to Rs. 13,01,498. This sum, though smaller than the receipts for the previous year (Rs. 13,18,729) is greater than the average for the last three years, and also greater than the amount of the receipts for any year previous to 1883-84. Including the receipts from Malwa opium and Shahjahanpur rum, the total excise revenue during the year was over thirteen and-a half lakhs. The following table shows the receipts under each head of revenue for the year under report and for the preceding year :—

Heads of Income.	AMOUNT RECEIVED.		Differen- ces.	Percentage of differ- ence.
	1884-85.	1885-86.		
Still-head duty on rum ...	Rs. 21,528	Rs. 21,670	+ 142	+ 0'7
Licenses for sale of rum ...	56,491	53,632	- 2,859	- 5'1
Licenses for sale of other European liquors ...	21,894	22,855	+ 961	+ 4'4
Still-head duty on country spirits ...	3,63,978	3,67,889	+ 3,911	+ 1'1
Licenses for sale of ditto ...	3,31,535	3,25,710	- 5,825	- 1'7
Fines, &c. ...	79	142	+ 63	+ 79'7
Other items ...	1,508	1,453	- 55	- 3'5
Collections for previous years ...	777	394	- 383	- 49'3
Total Revenue from excise on Liquors of all kinds ...	7,97,790	7,93,745	- 4,045	- 0'5
Acreage duty on poppy cultivation ...	34,786	29,238	- 5,548	- 15'9
Licenses for sale of opium ...	3,37,858	3,26,471	- 11,387	- 3'4
Do. do. drugs ...	1,46,333	1,46,281	- 52	- 0'0
Fines, &c. ...	338	324	- 14	- 4'1
Other items ...	942	9	933	- 0'9
Collections for previous years ...	682	5,430	+ 4,748	+ 696'3
Total Revenue for the year from Opium and Drugs	5,20,939	5,07,753	- 13,186	- 2'5
GRAND TOTAL ...	13,18,729	13,01,498	- 17,231	- 1'3

Report on the Administration of the Stamp Department, 1885-86.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS The financial result table :—

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The first four years' figures in the above statement are based on the returns furnished by the Accountant-General in his final statements for those years, while the figures for the year under report are approximate only. The total realizations under the Indian Stamp Act exceed those of the preceding year by Rs. 1,17,319, and are the largest that have been obtained since the introduction of the Act. In consequence of a comparative decrease in the charges, the net revenue was higher than that of 1884-85 by Rs. 1,21,988. In the sale of judicial stamps, there was an increase of Rs. 1,49,513, and, exclusive of charges and refunds, there was an increase of Rs. 1,30,563 in the net revenue. The realizations under the two Acts amounted to Rs. 1,32,58,046 against Rs. 1,29,91,214 in the previous year, giving an increase of Rs. 2,66,832. The charges amounted to Rs. 6,25,992, and the net receipts to Rs. 1,26,32,054.

Charitable Dispensaries, Bengal, 1885-86.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The following table shows the number of patients treated in 1885 and in the previous seven years, and the ratio of mortality among in-patients :—

	In-patients treated.	Out-patients treated.	Total.	Mortality among in-patients, per cent.
1878	28,473	927,783	956,256	20.01
1879	24,847	865,995	890,842	17.78
1880	23,567	888,095	911,662	15.17
1881	23,444	947,534	970,978	15.8
1882	23,468	934,155	957,623	15.75
1883	22,468	915,753	938,221	14.13
1884	25,077	965,555	990,632	14.75
1885	25,766	960,218	985,984	15.59

The total number of patients attending the dispensaries shows a decrease of 4,648 as compared with the number treated in 1884. The number of in-door patients, however, exceeded by 689 that recorded in the previous year.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

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Salt Department, Bengal, 1885-86.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The following statement compares the financial results of the Department during 1885-86 with those of the previous five years : —

Heads.	1880-81.	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.
RECEIPTS.						
<i>Imperial—</i>						
Import duty on salt	Rs. 2,27,49,949	Rs. 2,37,15,928	Rs. 1,74,72,614	Rs. 1,73,15,875	Rs. 1,61,00,460	Rs. 1,40,30,320
Excise ditto ...	10,97,439	9,73,170	7,27,526	8,82,118	0,11,999	9,65,057
Total ..	2,38,47,388	2,46,89,098	1,82,00,140	1,81,97,993	2,02,02,459	1,89,96,007
<i>Provincial—</i>						
Rent of warehouses	Rs. 1,03,634	Rs. 1,07,409	Rs. 1,23,582	Rs. 60,160	Rs. 85,245	Rs. 65,192
Miscellaneous ..	31,407	39,620	41,417	39,824	39,311	36,283
Total ..	1,35,041	1,47,035	1,64,999	99,984	1,24,556	1,01,475
Total Receipts ..	2,39,82,429	2,48,36,133	1,83,65,139	1,82,97,977	2,03,27,015	1,90,97,482
CHARGES.						
<i>Imperial—</i>						
Salaries, establishments and contingencies ..	....	....	....	9,728	5,324	6,253
Compensation paid under conventions with the French Government ...	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
Salt preventive establishment in Orissa ..	41,233	19,400	16,064	15,117	13,109	12,362
Refunds of Customs' duty on salt ..	3,14,924	2,54,497	2,84,801	1,87,064	2,11,905	1,84,919
Total ..	3,76,175	2,93,897	3,20,865	2,31,913	2,50,338	2,23,54
<i>Provincial—</i>						
Salaries, establishments and contingencies ..	17,781	17,789	17,626	18,320	81,048	18,180
Refunds other than Customs' and Excise duty ..	345	94	....	....	65	....
Total ..	18,126	17,883	17,626	18,320	81,113	18,180
Total Charges ..	3,19,428	3,11,780	3,38,149	2,50,233	2,71,451	2,41,714
Approximate net revenue ..	2,35,88,146	2,45,24,353	1,80,26,648	1,80,47,744	2,00,55,564	1,88,55,768

The results of the year under report, as compared with the previous year, show a decrease of Rs. 12,29,533, or 6 per cent. in the receipts, and a decrease of Rs. 29,737, or 10·9 per cent. in the charges. There was a decrease under all the heads of receipts; that under the head of Duty was due to smaller clearances, and that under the head of Rent of Warehouses to a reduction in bonding transactions. The decrease in the charges was chiefly due to smaller refunds of Customs' duty on salt.

*Excise, Lower Provinces, 1885-86.***P**RINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The financial results of the year were a decrease of Rs. 4,67,386 in the revenue, and an increase of Rs. 15,908 in the charges. The largest falling off in revenue occurred in Calcutta (Rs. 97,841), Patna (Rs. 56,503), Bhagulpore (Rs. 45,134), Gya (Rs. 40,595), Chittagong (Rs. 30,598), Dur-bhunga (Rs. 28,902), Monghyr (Rs. 27,855,) and Hooghly (Rs. 22,709); while the most considerable increase was shown in Mymensingh (Rs. 30,460). The variations in each division and the incidence of the revenue were :—

Division.	Increase.	Decrease.	Incidence per 100 of population.
	Rs.	Rs.	
Burdwan (without Howrah town)	32,881	13	
Presidency (without Suburbs)	41,476	10	
Calcutta, Suburbs and Howrah	97,841	227	
Rajshahye	22,625	7	
Dacca	29,364	8	
Chittagong	34,567	7	
Patna	1,57,734	15	
Bhagulpore	97,581	12	
Orissa	5,391	.....	13
Chota Nagpore	17,435	13	

*Crime in the Punjab, 1885.***P**RINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The total number of cognizable offences reported during the past year to the Police direct, and also to Magistrates, including all false charges of a malicious nature, was 68,502, or 5,992 in excess of the number shown in the returns for 1884.

Fluctuation in classes of 3. The fluctuations are shown in the crime.

Fluctuation in classes of crime.

1 Classes.	2 Offences.	3 1883.	4 1884.	5 Average of the two years.	6 1885.	7 Difference per cent. of average of the two years compared with 1885. Increase. Decrease.
	Substantive Abetments ...	2	...	...	...	...
I	Offences against the State, public tranquility, safety and justice ...					
II	Serious offences against the person ..	734	1,270	1,002·0	1,306	30·3 ...
III	Serious offences against the person and property, or against property only	3,195	4,575	3,885·0	5,136	32·2 ...
IV	Minor offences against the person ..	11,810	13,193	12,501·5	14,602	16·8 ...
V	Minor offences against property ...	161	1,211	686·0	1,293	46·9 ...
	Total of five classes (excluding Abetments above) ..	32,022	43,801	37,911·5	48,320	27·4 ...
VI	Other offences not specified above ...	20,371	18,709	19,540·0	20,182	3·2 ...
	Total (excluding Abetments) ...	52,393	62,510	57,451·5	68,502	19·2 ...

*Trade of India, 1885-86.***PRINCIPAL STATISTICS—**

The universal depression of trade and low level of prices for almost all commodities which marked the year 1884-85, continued in the year now under review, and the value of the trade of India exceeded by a minute fraction only (0·06 per cent.) the value of the transactions of the preceding year, the excess of the year being only 8·9 lakhs.

2. The aggregate value of the trade under all heads for the last seven years, was as follows :—

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Percentage of increase or decrease each year compared with preced- ing year.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1879-80	... 51,39,75,610	69,10,19,860	1,20,49,95,470	+ 11·15
1880-81	... 59,29,70,482	75,94,06,850	1,35,23,77,332	+ 12·23
1881-82	... 58,31,48,651	82,99,93,464	1,41,31,42,115	+ 4·49
1882-83	... 63,45,61,977	84,38,17,237	1,47,83,79,214	+ 4·62
1883-84	... 65,58,18,545	89,10,28,679	1,54,68,47,224	+ 4·63
1884-85	... 67,02,81,588	85,08,78,583	1,52,11,60,171	- 1·66
1885-86	... 67,28,93,813	84,91,56,777	1,52,20,50,590	+ 0·06

The average yearly rate of increase in the trade during the last seven years has been about 3·7 per cent., and during the five years 1881-82 to 1885-86, only 1·55 per cent.

Bengal Sanitation, 1885-86.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The following statement shows the death-rate from specific causes during the year, compared with that for the previous year, and the quinquennium, 1880-84 :—

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

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PROPORTION OF DEATHS PER 1,000 OF POPULATION.

Names of Diseases.	In 1885.			In 1884.			In 1880-84.				
	Urban.	Rural.	Province.	Urban.	Rural.	Province.	Urban.	Rural.	Province.		
Cholera	5'22	2'53	2'62	3'81	1'96	2'03	3'32	1'52	1'59
Small-pox	'33	'14	'14	'10	'24	'28	'55	'25	'26
Fever	14'40	15'79	15'75	12'89	14'66	14'60	15'17	13'35	13'42
Bowel-complaints	4'12	8'5	9'6	3'24	'79	'88	3'67	'72	'83
Injury	'50	'43	'43	'44	'36	'37	'42	'34	'34
Other causes	7'02	2'66	2'81	5'91	2'54	2'66	5'90	1'98	2'13
All causes	...	31'63	22'42	22'74	27'43	20'58	20'83	29'05	18'19	18'59	

There was an increase in the mortality under every head of disease, except small-pox.

Cholera, which had in the previous year prevailed to a very great extent, and contributed largely towards the mortuary statistics of the province, prevailed with still greater severity and was more fatal in its effects during the year under report. The recorded deaths numbered 173,767 or a ratio of 2·62 per mille of population against 134,421, or a ratio of 2·03 per mille in 1884. The disease visited every district, and attacked altogether with more or less severity 29,239 villages. The districts which suffered most, were Beerboorfi (6·87), Maldah (6·17), Puri (5·98), Rajshahye (5·78) and Cuttack (5·74). The details recorded of the several outbreaks of cholera during the year in different parts of the province throw no new light on the etiology of the disease. The localities affected were invariably found to be in an insanitary condition, the water-supply impure and insufficient, and the inhabitants frequently predisposed to disease, being enfeebled by exposure, insufficient clothing, and scanty and unwholesome food. Cholera was unusually active at the large religious and other fairs, where great numbers of people are gathered together, especially at the Ruthjatra festival at Puri, and at Sudagbagh in Moorshedbad in June and July, where 277 and 125 deaths respectively occurred. The usual precautions are said to have been taken, but were apparently defective. The remarks of the Sanitary Commissioner with regard to the several epidemics reported will be brought to the notice of the local officers concerned. The following observations regarding the seasonal incidence of cholera are worthy of notice, as indicating the extent to which the disease was influenced by the rainfall during the year :—

"After the scanty rainfall of January and February, the mortality from cholera suddenly rose very high in March. April and May followed the usual rule of being months in which the severity of the disease is very great. In June and July, months of heavy rainfall, the mortality subsided considerably, as has been usually the case. August, usually a month of low mortality, exhibited, notwithstanding its great rainfall of 17·81 inches (the largest quantity of the year), the highest mortality. This was caused by the incidence of the disease in the Behar districts, which are visited most severely in the rainy season. In August and during the early part of September heavy inundations occurred over a great portion of the province, and this contingency was followed by a steady reduction in cholera mortality during the months of September, October, November and December, and thus the winter prevalence of the disease, which is often the severest, was mitigated."

THE
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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 168.—APRIL, 1887.

ART. I.—IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT IN INDIA. (SECOND NOTICE.)

(Continued from the *Calcutta Review*, October 1886, page 388.)

In a former paper on the subject I hope I have conclusively proved, at least to unprejudiced minds, that class laws are bad laws. If any further proof were needed in support of my position it will be found in the manners and customs prevalent in India. The country which once gloried in a civilization that dated from the dawn of history, has now to be elevated from its state of stagnation by the agency of progressive Western ideas. After having been immersed in Cimmerian darkness for long centuries, the people, or rather the educated section, have come to recognise in the caste system the cause of their past and present degradation. Whatever opinion individual lawyers might entertain in the matter, it is an undoubted fact that jurists in all ages have strenuously set their veto upon Legislative measures that retain and foment class antagonism to the detriment of society at large. They never operate but to the prejudice of the communities where they exist. On the other hand, general legislation, based on general principles, and applicable to all classes without distinction, may involve individual hardship, but when it has passed a certain point, the need of a remedy is felt, and it will not be long before a remedy is applied in the proper direction, for a simple reason that it is the business of everybody to see the blot removed. It is otherwise with separate legislation for different sections of the community. If it involves injustice there will be a difficulty in correcting the abuses arising therefrom, because while

they press upon one class they work to the real or supposed advantage of another who, instead of being indifferent to the consequences, will fight every inch of ground to maintain their position and to prevent an encroachment on their liberties and rights. We are told that the Chambers of Commerce and Trades' Associations all over the country are in favour of the retention of the barbarous practice of imprisonment for debt. I for one am surprised to find that in their eagerness to perpetuate a blot upon the Indian administration they are so neglectful of their true interests. Instead of putting forward all their energy to render the operation of the Bankruptcy Bill more stringent, so as to prevent big defaulters from setting it at naught with impunity, they are moving heaven and earth to encompass the ruin of the smaller fry. The opinions of respectable bodies of men have been most sedulously consulted, but there is absolutely no one represents the dumb millions who will be seriously affected by the Bill. This is not a solitary instance in which their political existence has been completely ignored. Although Government professes to legislate for the benefit of the people, is it not a matter for wonder that those for whom it expresses such solicitude should be totally unrepresented in the Councils? If we look into the constitution of the several legislative assemblies throughout the country, we find, that from the ruling power downwards the powerful and wealthy sections of the community comprising the vast population of India, and who can make their voices heard, are scrupulously represented in their deliberations, and their interests jealously guarded, but we vainly look for one among them who could be called the representative of the 'masses.' It is assumed that the members constituting the legislature are not unmindful of their duty to the people, but it should at the same time be remembered that what is every man's business is no man's business. The press, both Anglo-Indian and native, with certain exceptions, do duty as such; but when it is taken into account the little influence the press in this country exercises on the discussions of the Councils, it might with truth be said that their advocacy is minimised almost to zero, so far as practical results go. The Chambers of Commerce cannot be said to have any touch with the people; at best they represent a few of the local merchants only, who should not be permitted a preponderating voice in the settlement of the question. The same may, with equal truth, be said of the Trades' Associations. There is a great gulf fixed between the merchants and the traders on the one hand and the 'masses' on the other, which could not be bridged over by any pharisaical legal fiction. Now let me examine for a while some of their 'irresistible arguments' and see how far they are borne out by practical

experience. They say that to remove from the Statute Book the penalty of arrest and imprisonment would be to paralyse the commerce and trade of the country. Is this so in fact? The same outcry was raised in England, and there were not wanting prophets of evil to predict dire consequences to the country, but Parliament thought otherwise, and when the penalty was removed commerce and trade flowed smoothly through the customary channels, and to this day no symptoms of paralysis have been visible. But to come to India, only a few years ago the unsatisfactory state of the law relating to lender and borrower led at first to the existence of straitened relations between the Mahajun and his victims, the agriculturists in certain tracts of the Dekkhan in the Western Presidency, which ultimately culminated in serious breaches of the peace and open defiance of the law. The Government could no longer close its eyes to this unhappy state of affairs, and the only way out of the difficulty was to institute an enquiry into the causes of the outbreak. The Dekkhan Riots' Commission was appointed, and the evidence collected by it showed what horrible and revolting practices were resorted to in broad daylight under the cover of the law. The details are loathsome to be reproduced here. To the curious in such matters I would refer to the Report of the Commission, of which our present able Financial Minister was a worthy member. But as the admirable speech of Sir Theodore Hope on the Dekkhan Relief Bill throws a flood of light on the subject in hand, I may here be permitted to quote an excerpt from it showing the mode of enforcing execution of a decree. He said:—"As to execution against the person by arrest and imprisonment, I rejoice to state that it is now considered expedient to abolish it altogether. Imprisonment will still be inflicted as a punishment for fraud detected on insolvency; but that is a totally different thing. The maintenance of imprisonment for debt, as found in the Indian law, is equally indefensible in principle and in practice. As to principle the Dekkhan Riots' Commission makes clear that point, utilising the opinion of John Stuart Mill. Their appendices teem with evidence in detail as to the extortion and wrong of which the warrant of arrest becomes in practice the engine. Unacknowledged payment, fresh bonds for sums unadvanced, life long slavery and even female dishonor may all be obtained—the first three constantly, by the mere production of the warrant of arrest, without enforcement. They say for instance, that in 1874, 'it would seem probable that somewhere about 150,000 warrants had been used as threats only.' The outcry against imprisonment, from officers well qualified to judge of it, has been uniform and persistent. Its abolition is unanimously recommended by the Dekkhan

Riots' Commission. Mr. Pedder and Miss Nightingale have, in the *Nineteenth Century*, brought the evils it causes prominently before the British public. Sir Erskine Perry gives its abolition his "unqualified approval" in a note dated December 1st 1877. Medical officers and pleaders take the same view as the Executive. Were it even defensible in theory, which we have seen that it is not, the abuses to which, in a country like Western India at least, it is proved to be bad in practice, afford sufficient ground for its condemnation in the districts to which the Bill is to apply Imprisonment was, at best, a barbarous device to meet the case of a debtor concealing his property or refusing to give it up." I need not add that the balance of authoritative opinion being in favour of the Bill, it was successfully coached through the Bombay Council. Among other things it provides that "no agriculturist shall be arrested or imprisoned in execution of a decree for money." It is now seven years that the Act has come into force, and the annual reports of its working show that the benevolent provision has operated satisfactorily and with beneficial results. Let us now see the arguments advanced by the Government of the North-West Provinces on the same subject :— "Sir Alfred Lyall has long been of opinion that the powers of subjecting a debtor to arrest and imprisonment should not be entrusted to the decree holder, but to the Courts only; and, in leaving with the Courts the authority to imprison, he would limit its exercise to cases in which clear proof should be shown of fraud or dishonest evasion of payment on the part of the judgment debtor. The existing practice of placing in the creditor's hands the power of selecting his own method of coercion is, Sir A. C. Lyall believes, a relic of the old semi-barbarous debt laws which has now been eliminated from almost every civilised code of judicial procedure. The retention of this process in our Indian Code would, upon this principle, be justified only by showing that it was specially required by the circumstances and conditions of the administration of the debt law in this country; and Sir Alfred Lyall does not think that any such imperative reasons for retaining it can be adduced.

It has been argued that by restricting the process of arrest to cases of proved dishonesty or contumacious refusal to pay debts, the debtor would be given an opportunity for getting out of the way, and thus evading arrest if the Court should determine to order it. But, in the first place, the position of an absconder from process is a very uncomfortable one; so that only the class of debtors who now run away from the creditor are likely to run away from the Court; and, in the second place, the additional risk that would be imposed on

the creditor in his realisation of bad debts, seems quite worth incurring for the purpose of relaxing the severity with which the present system operates against all debtors, honest and dishonest, indiscriminately. Of the persons arrested, only a comparatively small number seem to be actually imprisoned after arrest ; and this fact has been taken to prove that most of these debtors were able to pay but refused to do so till arrested. But it is at least quite as probable an explanation, that the debtor, when arrested, preferred, rather than go to jail, to accept any terms which his creditor chose to dictate to him, and to save himself from prolonged imprisonment by executing or renewing bonds on hard or ruinous conditions, or by mortgaging or selling all his property, including property exempt by law from attachment under a Civil Court decree. The effect of arrest, in neutralising the legal exemptions from attachment, seems, indeed, to merit particular attention. For although section 266 of the Code of Civil Procedure, provides that certain things shall be exempt from attachment under a decree, the provision can be practically of little use when the creditor can, by exercising, or threatening to exercise his power of arrest, compel the debtor to give up any property whatsoever that he may possess. The Judicial Commissioner of Oudh has cited, as an instance of the difficulty which creditors would experience in realising their debts if the power of arrest were abolished, the case of a debtor who holds a pension, which the law forbids the Court to attach, but who owns no other tangible property. It is argued that such a man may be made to pay his debt while the law allows him to be arrested, but might defy his creditor if the power of arrest were removed. But according to this view of the case, it is clear that the power of arrest now operates in a great degree to annul the exemption from attachment assigned by law to the pension, since the creditor, though he cannot directly attach the pension, can imprison the pensioner till he comes to terms that may be equivalent to its transfer. . . . Sir A. C. Lyall would therefore advocate the entire abolition of the process of arrest for debt, so far as it is a process that can be set in motion at the discretion of the creditor, and would allow the Courts to order arrest only on proof of fraudulent and contumacious attempts to defeat the operation of a decree.

It is possible that the abolition of the power of arrest would make the recovery of debts somewhat less easy ; but granting this, the law is not bound to go beyond a certain limit in aiding creditors, and in Sir A. C. Lyall's opinion, it goes too far when it leaves to creditors uncontrolled power of imprisoning their debtors. Imprisonment is especially hard on the

cultivator and working man, whom it deprives of their means of subsistence and of providing for their families, and these are the classes who probably are most frequently imprisoned."

In this connection it will not be out of place to quote the following remarkable passage from the speech of Mr. Ilbert on the Debtors' Bill for the United Provinces ; he says :—" It will have been seen that, under the general provisions of the Civil Procedure Code, the discretion as to whether a debtor shall be arrested and imprisoned or not, rests not with the Courts but with the creditor. It may be clear that the debtor has property available for attachment, and that a warrant of arrest has been applied for from vindictive or other improper motives, and yet, if the creditor asks for a warrant of arrest, a warrant must issue. The debtor may be a woman, she may even belong to the class of women who by the law of this country are exempted from public appearance in Court, and yet if the creditor says that he wishes to send her to prison, to prison she must go." This is not a hypothetical case at all. There have been instances on record in which *purdanashin* women have been arrested and imprisoned for debt. The allusion made by Mr. Ilbert is very much to the point as an illustration of the working of the law as it stands at present. The incident attracted the notice of the British Indian Association, with the result that red-tape asserted its immemorial rights, which culminated in a triangular correspondence between the Association, the Government of India, and that of Bengal. The Supreme Government addressed a circular " to all local governments and administrations, stating that the Government of India had under consideration the question of amending the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure bearing upon the question of the arrest of *purdanashin* women in execution of the decrees of Civil Courts, but that before coming to any final conclusion on the subject; the Governor-General in Council thought it desirable to deal with the larger question of abolishing imprisonment for debt, and for this purpose to enquire whether sufficient reasons exist for the continued maintenance in India of the present system." The question having been shifted from the original ground, the whole thing ended in smoke. While by one section of the Code, a woman is exempted from public attendance in Court, by another section she is sent to prison as a felon for non-fulfilment of a contract. May I ask the advocates for the retention of imprisonment for debt to reconcile the anomaly ? It was only the other day that a judge of the local High Court, in granting execution of a decree against the person of a *purdanashin*, instructed the bailiff to execute the process without wounding the susceptibilities of the judgment debtor by exposing her to the public gaze. This bespeaks kind and noble sentiments in the judge

no doubt, but whatever consideration might be shown to the lady in the preliminaries connected with the arrest, no precautions could save her from the indignities inseparable from her unfortunate position when incarcerated in jail. Apart from the insurmountable difficulty in identifying a woman behind the *purdah*, and the chances of a maid-servant personating her mistress to suffer vicarious punishment rather than see her mistress consigned to life-long shame, there are other and serious obstacles in the way of the judgment creditor obtaining redress by an order of Court. The saying of Sir Barnes Peacock that the troubles of a plaintiff commence with the passing of a decree finds a pointed application here. Among the favourite arguments used by representatives of vested intestests, the two following find a prominent place. They affirm that "the complexity and obscurity of Indian titles to property, and secondly the exceptional prevalence of fraud in India, and the exceptional difficulties of detecting it" necessitate the retention of imprisonment for debt in the absence of other means to coerce the refractory debtor. The Hon'ble C. P. Ilbert so successfully demolishes these arguments that I cannot help reproducing his views here. Nothing that I could say would add to their weight; he says:—

"As to the first ground, I will only say that two wrongs do not make a right. If it is wrong, as I hold it is, to allow a debtor to pledge his person as security for his debts, it is not the less wrong because, owing to the defects of Indian property law, he finds difficulty in giving a satisfactory security over his property.

"In the argument based on the prevalence of, and difficulty of detecting fraud, there is undoubtedly much force, though, after having in the course of my professional career studied most of the reports and evidence bearing on the law of debtor and creditor in England, and conversed with a large number of persons who have a practical experience of its working, I am inclined to doubt whether the moral complexion of the Indian debtor is really so much darker than that of his English brother, and whether the obstacles which can be placed in the way of a creditor realizing his debts are not as great in England as in India. But, however this may be, to make an honest, though needy, debtor liable to imprisonment, simply because fraudulent debtors are numerous and difficult to detect, appears to me something like making homicide by misadventure punishable by death, simply because the crime of murder is rare and hard to prove.

"There are, in my opinion, two principles which ought to be observed in every law of debtor and creditor. The Courts ought not to give effect to any pledge by a debtor either of his person or of the bare necessities of life. The debtor ought not to be allowed, by his own action, supplemented by the action of the Courts, either to deprive himself of his personal liberty, or to reduce himself to starvation. If he cannot obtain credit except on one or other of these securities, it is better that he should not obtain credit at all. These principles appear to me to be as applicable to India as to England—to an uncivilized as to a civilized country. The Code of Civil Procedure recognises one of these principles by exempting from seizure for debt the debtor's bare means of subsistence. But this recognition is nullified by the refusal to adopt the principle of exempting the debtor's person

from seizure. Of what use is it to reserve by law to the debtor the bare necessities of life, when he can be compelled to give them up by the threat of imprisonment? By those who advocate the retention of the present system much reliance is placed on the very small proportion of actual imprisonments to warrants of arrest; and the inference drawn from this proportion is that the law, though harsh in theory, produces no hardships in practice. But my belief is that, in the great majority of cases, exemption from arrest is purchased either by renewal of bonds on extortionate terms, or by surrender of property which the law has exempted from seizure, or by surrender of property which does not belong to the debtor at all but to his relations or friends. In other words, the law enables a creditor to do indirectly what it forbids him to do directly."

But there is yet another and a broader question involved in the issue. England has spent millions sterling in the emancipation of slaves all the world over, but in the dependency of India, which is considered the brightest jewel in her diadem, she gives gratuitous help to the slave-holder to keep his victim in bondage. What she has emphatically denounced throughout the world, as being contrary to the laws of God and man, she practises in India to the thorough demoralisation of the people. For what is imprisonment for debt but a deliberate encouragement of traffic in human flesh and blood, and any body of men who would see such a state of affairs continue, after all that is said against it, could hardly lay claim to be called rational or enlightened. But when the advocates of the practice put forward pleas of philanthropy in support of their views, the shallowness of their cause becomes more and more patent. They "maintain that the people of India being poor, the masses, who must necessarily throughout their days, live from hand to mouth, would be oppressed, rather than relieved, if imprisonment for debt were abolished, if they were no longer allowed to pledge their persons—all that remains to them—for a month's food or a month's shelter." In other words and in plain language, it means nothing less than that the Government should put forth all its strength to encourage borrowing and lending by any means and under any circumstances. A debt is an incident arising out of a private contract, and the creditor has the authority to enforce its payment by a process against the property of the debtor, but when the law goes beyond this and arms him with an additional right against his person also, it entrusts him with a dangerous power which should rest with the supreme authority in the State, and be exercised only when society has suffered a wrong or a loss. But how has society suffered by the non-fulfilment of a stipulation which was entered into by parties who consulted their interests and convenience before binding themselves. For the legislature to hedge commerce and trade with artificial appliances, which they do not stand in need of, is a direct interference with personal liberty and, as such, is both immoral

and impolitic. The fact of an abnormal rate of interest being stipulated for, indicates pretty clearly a knowledge on the part of the lender the risk he runs in the transaction. If the borrower is possessed of credit worth the name, why should he not go to the cheapest market for a loan rather than apply to an usurious money-lender. The reason is not far to seek. In the one case he is certain to meet with a refusal, while in the other he expects to be accommodated on terms that will ultimately imperil his liberty in the not distant future. For a small but immediate help, he is willing to submit to sacrifices however revolting, and our courts of law, which is no party to the contract, is prepared to go the length of ruining him for life at the bidding of the lender who has been a gainer by the transaction?

But is not a debtor a victim to the creditor's vindictiveness. With the exception of a few only of the more heinous offences, there is scarcely a single punitive clause in the Indian Penal Code which does not permit the Court to award the alternative punishment of fine or imprisonment; but indebtedness, in the view of the law as it stands at present, is a crime of such magnitude, that the entire machinery of the law is set in motion to crush the debtor by inflicting both the penalties without any abatement. To him (the big defaulter) that hath, opportunity shall be given of taking more, but from him that hath not (the poor debtor) even that shall be taken away which he hath. Is this not a sufficient vindication of the glorious uncertainty of the law? And because the common sense of mankind revolts against such invidious distinctions, there is gnashing of teeth and maniacal shrieks from vested interests all over the country, beseeching the authorities not to destroy one of the bulwarks of society. I will be told why all this tempest in a tea-pot. If the debtor is honest he can seek relief under the Insolvent Act. To this I reply, why send an honest debtor to jail at all, and why close the door of relief in the case of one who cannot pay the expenses of protracted adjournments. Why put him on a par with a dishonest debtor? He is first made to suffer an indignity, that he might have an opportunity of clearing his character afterwards. This is Lynch law with a vengeance. First hang a man and then try him. Whereas it would be both just and honorable to put him on his trial first, and if he is found wanting then denounce him by all means. But the mischief does not stop here. A man who has once undergone imprisonment naturally arrives at the conclusion that the law has been vindicated, the creditor has done his worst, and that wipes out his score. Should he subsequently come into possession of property, he will do all in his power to evade payment of his debts,

even if he failed to obtain his 'final discharge' under the Act. Human nature is the same all the world over, and that man has yet to be found who, having once been wronged, would so far forget his injury as to ungrudgingly submit to his creditor without a murmur. Such instances of Roman 'hot-hou' are rarely to be met with in every day life. If a modern Diogenes were to go about in broad daylight, lantern in hand, in search of an honest man, I feel certain he would not meet with greater success than his ancient namesake. The punishments of the law exist principally to satisfy the feelings of justice which demands that crime shall not be passed over or condoned. But where, and against whom is the offence committed by the debtor. We are, in this instance, reviving the old notion of vengeance, which in the early ages of the world animated the prosecution of offenders, but which happily has now disappeared from the speech and thought of the day. In the case of a criminal it is recognised as sufficient, so to stamp an offence with the disapproval of society and with its proper disgrace, that while the law is vindicated the punishment operates as a deterrent to those who may follow in the criminal's footsteps. The severity of the sentence is proportioned to the gravity of the offence, and it is in the interest of the community which itself undertakes to prosecute criminals, and not on account of private resentment, that punishments are inflicted. But in the case of a debtor, the tables are completely turned. The law gives power to the creditor to persecute him even unto death, although the intention of the former is palpable enough. A writer in a Bombay paper gives the following instance of a young gentleman, a son of a millionaire, who was harassed by his creditors, and having been sent to jail, was so broken down in health that he died shortly after obtaining relief in the Insolvent Court :—

Aided by the bailiff, the Marwaree is irresistible. Over Rama doth he rejoice, on Pando doth he cast out his shoe, after having tempted the poor wretches into his net. Who of us in Bombay does not know the tricks of the Marwaree? How warily he lays his nets, and how the victim, once entrapped, is in his grasp for ever! The sprat taken by the angler appealed unavailingly for liberty, although he urged that if he were put back into the pool he would, in course of time, grow bigger, and some day afford a heartier meal to his captor. The Marwaree is wiser: he does not altogether refuse such a request when it is made to him. He returns the sprat to his native element, holding him by the finest line for security. When the time arrives, the sprat, grown larger, is gobbled up as effectually as a homoeopathic pill. I would recall one instance of the mischief it is possible for the Marwaree and men of his stamp to do. It is all the more striking from the fact that the victim was the member of a wealthy family, well known in this city. The head of it, a millionaire, had a son, a half-witted, debauched aged-young man, who was considered lawful prey by sharks. They lent him money; they sold him horses; they pawned off jewellery on him at fabulous prices, believing that the father would pay his debts. Well, the old man did pay—once, twice, thrice, perhaps oftener.

At any rate, he got tired of paying, and vowed that not another stiver of his penitiously gained money would go into the pockets of enterprising usurers and tradespeople. But the game went on, notwithstanding this threat; nobody believed that an old man, almost in his dotage, would repudiate his only son. At last the prodigal's debts, fictitious in great part, mounted up to an enormous figure; and pressure was put on the father to pay. First one creditor, and then another obtained a decree; but the Romah father remained obdurate. Then they tried the device of putting the son in jail. Surely the son of a millionaire in a debtor's prison was an impossible thing! But the father, seeing the hopelessness of the case, made no sign; and, to cut the miserable story short, the young man remained in durance until a pitiful Commissioner of the Insolvent Court was persuaded that further confinement would kill him. He had scarcely been released, when he died. It is undeniable that his long imprisonment accelerated his death. It is not necessary to comment on this case. I merely ask—What right had this poor man's creditors to ask the law to enforce payment of their fraudulent demands by imprisonment? If there had been no imprisonment for debt, obviously he would not have been beguiled into borrowing money; into buying horses which he could not stable, or watches which he could not possibly wear in a life time. It may be said that this is a solitary case, and that individual hardships may be caused by the wisest public measures. But I tell you—and any business man will support me—that this instance has been cited merely because it is well known, and that if all were to give similar "hard cases," many columns of your paper might be taken up day after day with a wearisome recital of such wrongs.

Two cases which have recently been disposed of in the High Court Sessions, and in which the accused have been sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment each, show, beyond a doubt, what a demoralising influence our Courts of cheap justice exercise over the community at large. Does it not conclusively prove that the abominable practice of imprisonment for debt supplies an infallible instrument of torture to the unprincipled gang that infest our Courts of law. I may here be permitted to hope that the Legislature will make a note of the facts disclosed in evidence, and ponder over the necessity of keeping alive an institution which can be worked to the prejudice of society, and by prostituting the majesty of the law for the gratification of a vile passion. To be brief: in one instance three men conspired to decoy a young native girl from the protection of her grandmother and carry her off to Moorshedabad. Having failed in their attempt, they had recourse to a Court of Justice to attain their object. The principal conspirator sued the grandmother on a false promissory note, and one of his accomplices swore to the service of the summons on the defendant. An ex parte decree was obtained, but it was not executed until they had exhausted every means in their power to be only balked of their prey. Ultimately she was arrested and taken to the Registrar of the Small Cause Court, before whom she said she knew nothing of the matter. But this availed her nothing and she was lodged in jail. After a fortnight she petitioned the Court, and was brought up on remand before the Judge

who originally heard the suit ; he required bail for her release, but as the poor old woman was a perfect stranger in town, she could not comply with the requisition of the Court and was sent back to prison. A few days after the girl had been decoyed, the diet money was discontinued, and the woman released. She was once more sent for by the Judge who accorded her a patient hearing and quashed the proceedings, awarding her compensation which, it is needless to say, she never got. The bailiff who had accompanied the plaintiff deposed that she was not the party upon whom he had served the summons. The entire case was nothing less than a huge, deliberate conspiracy, formed for the sole purpose of encompassing the ruin of an innocent girl, by putting the machinery of the law in operation against her guardian, which the villains conjectured was the safest and surest way of attaining their nefarious purpose. Numerous are the devices which a dishonest party will have recourse to by the help of the law, to come round an adversary. If an important but honest witness in a law suit refuses to be bought up, the proceeding adopted to keep him out of the way is simple enough. A false promissory note, purporting to have been executed by him, is presented to one of the Subordinate Courts, and an affidavit filed along with it, stating that the defendant is about leaving the jurisdiction of the Court with a view to defraud his creditor, and praying for an order of arrest before judgment. A couple of professional perjurors who are always hanging about the place swear, for a small consideration, to the truth of the allegations, and the so-called defendant suddenly finds himself in the hands of the bailiff. He impeaches the genuineness of the document, but his protest is of no use. The sympathy of the Court being with the creditor, the party under arrest is asked either to pay down the amount or give substantial security, failing which he must remain in jail until the suit is called on for hearing. In the mean time the case in which he was to have given evidence comes on for hearing, and if it is an adjourned matter, it is disposed of without any further ceremony. Meanwhile the pseudo creditor, who has had his purpose answered, disappears altogether, leaving the defendant to get out of his scrape the best way he can. I have cited these three typical instances of the administration of the law of imprisonment for debt, which are almost of daily occurrence all over India, with a view to move the Legislative Council to an impartial consideration of the issues involved in the discussions on the Debtors' Bill which will shortly come before it. Here I would quote the words of an able lawyer, whose testimony will, I trust, carry some weight with our Legislature. He says:—"Of course there has been some little outcry about the abolition

of imprisonment for debt. No reform was ever achieved without some outcry from prejudiced and interested parties. And I have no doubt that when these effective remedies were abolished (in Rome), there was a certain amount of grumbling and complaint. There can be no injustice in modifying the means provided by law for the enforcement of debts arising out of voluntary contract. The creditor enters into the contract with his eyes open, and where he does not think the powers entrusted to him for the recovery of his debt sufficiently strong, he can refuse to enter into it. The law incurs no responsibility for the creation of the obligation, and the legislature is absolutely free to enforce it by whatever means seems best in the general interest. The person giving credit in order to secure himself against wrong, has but to mete out that credit, according to the estimate of his means which the law places at his disposal for the recovery of his debt in each particular case. The question, therefore, of abolishing imprisonment for debt, is not a question of justice or injustice, but of policy and inhumanity. That question has been decided in favour of abolition in almost every civilized country in the world, and the same verdict has been pronounced upon it in England, although, in the case of the smaller debtor, by an unworthy subterfuge it has been rendered null and void. I appeal to a Government who profess to believe in equal rights for great and small, at least to place all classes of the community on the same footing. Abolish imprisonment for innocent debt, under whatever disguise; allow credit to regulate itself on the same principles for high and low; free the statute from the reproach of providing one law for the rich and another for the poor, and save the nation from the disgrace of maintaining a system which, while each year sending forth thousands of large debtors free and irresponsible to commence a new career, under cover of a transparent hypocrisy, sends thousands of smaller ones to jail and wreck their lives and prospects for debts, the entire aggregate of which amounts to a mere fraction of the loss inflicted on his creditors by many a single enterprising bankrupt."

Nero on the roof of his suburban villa, singing to his harp a poem on the burning of Troy, unmindful of the conflagration which nearly destroyed his capital, is typical of the sublime apathy of our rulers, who pass eight months of the year on far-off Olympus, leaving the masses to be leisurely devoured by the insatiable jaws of the money-lender who neither sow nor reap, but fatten on the life-blood of the people, and move about like "Solomon in all his glory." Why is it that the law throws its *egis* on one set of men to the prejudice of another and a much larger class in society. No special reason could be assigned except that the spirit of conservatism requires the

perpetuating of a huge scandal to keep it alive. What benefit does a community derive by having a battalion of professional usurers in its midst? The latter does not work for his livelihood, he contributes nothing towards the wealth of the community or of the country either, but on the contrary, drains its resources for his especial behoof. Political economy advocates the repression of the eleemosynary spirit in man, ascribing its existence to a morbid sentiment, on the ground that the recipient of charity is no producer but a mere consumer, and as such ought not to be tolerated. But it takes no particular notice of him who is a much bigger defaulter in that direction, inasmuch as he lives on the earnings of his victims, and hoards money, not with the object of spending it in a useful fashion, but simply for personal aggrandisement, or burying it underground to provide against contingencies. He is the only member of the community whose wealth does not circulate, and who grows rich at the expense of those whose ruin he has effectually secured. And for the sole benefit of this drone the machinery of the law is elaborated, which brings grist to his mill, helps him to keep up indebtedness and demoralize the people as far as his baneful influences extend. Let imprisonment for debt be done away with, and the money-lender is once for all deprived of his weapons of offence and defence. When he finds out it has taken away the protection under which he carried on his nefarious practices, he will come down to the level of his clients and, being left to his own resources, will become more honest and righteous in his dealings, more careful in permitting unlimited credit, and therefore, would not pose before the public in the dual light of benefactor and martyr. The responsibility which now rests with the Courts of seeing him redressed, will devolve upon himself, and as the Courts do not participate in any of the benefits enjoyed by him, it is nothing but fair that the protection be withdrawn and he be left to his own resources.

That this evil has existed almost from the commencement of the British rule in India, will appear from the following excerpt taken from a "presentment" by the Grand Jury to the Supreme Court of Judicature on the 24th June 1784. It says:—

In a country where the lenity of the Bankrupt Laws in favor of Debtors has been construed not to extend, though they are equally subjected to the rigour of arrests and imprisonment where the extent and duration of that imprisonment is unlimited, and aggravated by the severity of a hot and unhealthy climate, they trust that humanity will dictate to the power appointed by the legislature to inflict the punishment of the laws, to prevent any additional hardships arising from locality or other circumstances unforeseen by the Legislature, and unprovided for in the construction of those laws. Impressed with these sentiments, the Grand Jury doubt not that the Court will pay every compassionate consideration to the unhealthiness of the climate, and the fatal consequences arising

from the want of a free circulation of air, and it is therefore with greater confidence of attention that they represent to the Court, that the Jail of this town, in which the unfortunate Debtor and the Guilty Criminal are promiscuously kept, is, from the construction of many of its apartments, so confined, as to preclude from the benefit of the air a considerable number of the persons confined in it.

In every civilized Government the measure of punishment should be ever regulated by the weight of offence, but in the present state of the Jail, the convicted Felon who is led out to execution, is happier than the unfortunate Debtor, who is left to a lingering destruction, amidst the gloom of a confined and unwholesome prison, in a damp and stagnated air, without a hope of relief, but what depends upon the caprice of a merciless Creditor.

The security of commercial interests, and the general good of society, require that the Laws should give to the Creditor a power over the person of his Debtor, but the custody of it is not left by the Legislature to the arbitrary will of the Creditor, but is wisely reposed in the hands of a Court of Justice, to whom the protection of the privileges of the Debtor, and the security of the Creditor in the safeguard of the Debtor's person, are equally entrusted.

A. STEPHEN.

ART. II.—HIGH EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

OF the many great and noble deeds done by England in India, the work of education has been the greatest and the noblest. Fifty years ago when the battle between Oriental Learning and European Literature and Science was fought out and it was declared to be "the great object of the British Government to promote European Literature and Science among the natives of India,"* there was nothing like systematic education pursued in India. It was the great genius of Macaulay that in 1835 "planned, founded and constructed the education system in all its grades,"† which continued to work until it received further development from the Educational Despatch of 1854. During the past half of a century the progress of education in India has, indeed, been marvellous, and, though, "the amount allotted in the budget to the item of Public Instruction has increased more than seventy fold since 1835,"‡ Government still finds it difficult to meet the growing demands of the country. But great as has been the educational work of England in India, it still falls very far short of the work she does at Home. The expenditure under the head of "Education, Science and Art" in Great Britain and Ireland was, in 1884, £4,852,933 out of a total revenue of £85,533,000,§ giving a percentage of 5·6 of the revenue spent on Education. But, as we shall presently show, the expenditure under the same head does not amount to even 2 per cent. of the revenue in India. The policy of Government has, however, been always characterized by a sincere desire to meet the educational requirements of the country—the budget of each year showing increased grants for Education.

In 1864-65, the nett charge for Education upon the public revenue in Bengal, amounted to Rs. 11,54,779, out of a total revenue of Rs. 15,12,31,986, giving a percentage of only 7·6.|| But in the comparatively short period of 20 years, the State expenditure on Education has risen to Rs. 30,80,000 in 1884-85.¶ The increase in the expenditure on Education has been most marked during the past four years; as in 1881-82, the

* Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay, Vol. I, p. 411.

† Ditto ditto ditto " I, " 412.

‡ Ditto ditto ditto " I, " 420.

§ The Statesman's Year-Book for 1885, p. 228.

|| Bengal Administration Report " 1864-65, p. 64.

¶ Ditto ditto " 1884-85, " 324.

nett Government expenditure was Rs. 21,89,720* the increase may in round numbers be represented by nine lakhs of rupees. This is, indeed, very satisfactory, and were it not for the fact that this large increase in the Bengal Education Budget has attracted the notice of the Government of India, which intends making reductions under this head at the next re-adjustment of Provincial Grants, the country might have remained secure in the belief, that the present liberal policy of Government regarding Education, would not be departed from, but that the grants will be further and further increased, until the State expenditure under the head of Education in India (Bengal) reached the proportion it had arrived at in England.

It is the misfortune of the Bengalee that those who sit in judgment over him are often carried away by prejudice or ignorance, and ignore the part he is taking, along with Government, in this laudable work of Education. While, therefore, giving Government all the praise that it deserves for its educational work, we shall try to lay before our readers what share the people have borne in that work. In 1864-65, i.e., within 10 years after the promulgation of the great Education Despatch, the contribution in the shape of fees, &c, from the people amounted to Rs. 7,39,657, out of a total expenditure of Rs 18,94,436† the State thus bearing $\frac{2}{3}$ ths and the people $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of the entire cost. But in 20 years the state of things has been quite reversed. We have seen that the Government grants have multiplied largely, but the contributions from the people have increased still more largely. In 1884-85, the total expenditure on Education was Rs. 78,15,000, out of which Government bore Rs. 30,80,000, while the people bore Rs. 47,35,000, i.e., the people's share was *more than* $\frac{1}{3}$ ths, while the Government's share was *less than* $\frac{2}{3}$ ths. The contributions from the people are making wonderful progress every year. Not to go very far back, during the past four years of the present Administration within which the Government grant has increased from Rs. 21,89,720 in 1881-82, to Rs. 30,80,000 in 1884-85, the people's contribution has also proportionately increased. In 1881-82 it was Rs. 37,62,000, in 1884-85 it rose up to Rs 47,35,000. Such a state of things must be creditable both to the Rulers and the Ruled and the wisest statesmanship would lie not in disturbing the present line of policy, but in regulating it so that it might yield still better results in the future. But the superficial critic has always charged the Government of Bengal with extravagance in Educational expenditure, especially in the expenditure for High Education. It is our chief ob-

* Bengal Administration Report for 1881-82, p. 369.
† Ditto auto., 1864-65, " 64

to examine in this article how far this charge of extravagance against Bengal is well founded.

The best mode to judge of Bengal is to judge her along with the other four principal Provinces, namely, Madras, Bombay, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab. The Report of the Education Commission, appointed under Lord Ripon's Government, contains valuable educational statistics of these different Provinces, and it is our intention to reproduce from it such facts as bear on the subject now in hand.

It appears from the Financial Summary given at pages 576-77 of the Report of the Education Commission that the total expenditures on Education in 1881-82 from Public Funds in the five Provinces named above, were as follow :—

Name of Province.	Expenditure from Public Funds on Education.			Rs.
	
Madras	13,97,448
Bombay	17,71,860
Bengal	22,97,917 *
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	15,06,882
Punjab	10,95,321

It would at first sight appear from the above that Bengal enjoys a much larger share of the Public Funds for Educational purposes than any of the other sister Provinces. But, before one forms such a conclusion, one ought to take into consideration, (1) the population of each of the Provinces, and (2) its Revenue.

The populations of the above five Provinces according to the census of 1881, are given below.— †

Name of Province	Population.
Madras	30,868,504
Bombay	16,454,414
Bengal	66,691,456
N. W. Provinces and Oudh	44,107,869
Punjab	18,850,437

From the above two sets of figures giving the expenditure on Education in each Province, and the population over which that expenditure is distributed, we get the following rates per head of the population of the State expenditure on Education :—

* There is a discrepancy between the figures for 1881-82 as given in the Bengal Administration Report and the Education Commission's Report.

† The Statesman's Year-Book for 1885, pp 787-88.

Name of Province.	Expenditure from Public Funds on Education per head of population.		
	Rs.	As.	P.
Madras	87
Bombay	...	1	86
Bengal	...	0	66
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	...	0	65
Punjab	...	0	111

It will be seen from the above that the most favoured Province is not Bengal, but Bombay. Bengal, in fact, is one of the two least favoured by Government, for while Bombay gets per head of her population three times as much as Bengal or the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, Madras also gets $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, and the Punjab nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ ths, more than either Bengal or the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. We shall next proceed to consider what proportion of the Revenue derived from each of the above five Provinces is spent on Education.

The following figures represent the Revenues of the five Provinces :—

Name of Province.	Revenue in 1882.* A.s.
Madras	9,53,11,640
Bombay	11,14,26,050
Bengal	19,29,91,760
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	9,07,57,270
Punjab	4,59,99,520

From the above figures, and from those previously given, representing expenditure on Education, the following percentages are obtained :—

Name of Province.	Percentage of Revenue spent on Education.
Madras	1.5
Bombay	1.6
Bengal	1.2
N. W. Provinces and Oudh	1.6
Punjab	2.4

It will again appear that Bengal receives back, in the shape of Educational Grant, the lowest percentage of the Revenue contributed by her to the Public Treasury. Bengal, is the least favoured, both as regards the Grant for Education per head of the population, and as regards the percentage of the Revenue spent on Education.

The next point for consideration is the distribution of expenditure from "Public Funds" over the different *classes* of Education in each Province. It is often alleged by the critics of the Bengalee, that the expenditure for High Education is proportionately greater in Bengal than in any of the other Provinces, and it will be our business to examine carefully how far this allegation is correct. We shall first quote the percentages given

* The Statesman's Year-Book for 1885, p. 779.

under the head of "Public Funds," at page 576 of the Education Commission's Report.

Percentages of the Expenditure from "Public Funds."

Object of Expenditure.		Madras.	Bombay.	Bengal.	N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.	Punjab.
Collegiate Education	...	10'78	5'28	12'60	8'00	6'69
Secondary do.	..	13'73	12'32	24'15	18'54	21'06
Primary do.	...	44'18	50'54	23'56	47'99	36'52
Professional and Technical classes	...	4'43	4'69	3'07	2'56	6'03
Direction, Inspection, Universities and Miscellaneous	...	26'88	27'17	36'62	22'91	29'70

The above percentages are, however, misleading if read without the Commission's explanation accompanying them, which is as follows :—

"The columns showing percentage give the ratio which the expenditure upon each object specified in column 1, from provincial, local, municipal or public funds respectively, bears to the total expenditure on education from each of those funds. For instance, collegiate education in Madras receives 19'44 per cent. of the provincial expenditure, or 10'78 per cent. of the public expenditure upon education."

The "public expenditure," is made up of the expenditures from "provincial, local and municipal funds" (*vide* p. 568 of the Commission's Report). The "Local" and "Municipal" Funds form a very large proportion of the "Public" Funds in the other Provinces, but in Bengal they are represented by a very insignificant sum, namely, Rs. 34,380, out of Rs. 22,97,917 of Public Funds spent on education in 1881-82. The expenditure from "Local" and "Municipal" Funds in Bengal was again all on "Schools" and nothing on "Colleges." The fairest method of comparison would, therefore, be to take the percentages of the "Provincial" Funds spent upon the different "Objects of Education." Following this method we get the results given below :—

*Percentages of the Expenditure from "Provincial Funds."**

Object of Expenditure.		Madras.	Bombay.	Bengal.	N.W. Provinces and Oudh.	Punjab.
Collegiate Education	...	19.44	9.76	12.80	14.03	13.31
Secondary do.	...	23.01	19.75	23.66	29.33	32.23
Primary do.	...	17.95	29.53	23.26	21.39	15.40
Professional and Technical classes	...	4.91	6.51	3.10	3.75	7.16
Direction, Inspection, Universities and Miscellaneous	...	34.69	34.45	37.18	31.50	31.90

It will be seen from the above that as regards "Collegiate" Education, Bengal spends out of her "Provincial" Revenue a much lower percentage than any of the other Provinces excepting Bombay. But we have already seen how exceptionally favoured Bombay is in the enjoyment of her Education Grants. She gets out of her Revenue for expenditure on Education per head of her population, an amount which is more than three times as great as what Bengal gets. She can, therefore, by spending on "Collegiate" education a lower percentage than Bengal (it is only about $\frac{1}{4}$ th less) still continue to give "Collegiate" education to a larger proportion of her population than Bengal is able to give.

But education in Bengal, especially "Collegeate" and "Secondary," is every day growing more and more self-supporting. We have shown in a preceding part of this article how the income from fees and other "private" sources in Bengal has enormously multiplied during the last twenty years. We shall now show what great advancement Bengal has made and how none of the other Provinces are within half the distance of her in this respect.

Name of Province.

Income derived from fees and other sources of expenditure besides Public Funds in 1881-82.[†]

Rs.

Madras	...	...	...	...	15,97,259
Bombay	...	...	...	...	6,82,011
Bengal	...	...	8"	...	32,61,378
N. W. Provinces and Oudh	...	...	...	...	3,48,690
Punjab.	...	...	...	...	3,47,235

* Education Commission's Report, p. 576.

† Ditto ditto ditto " 570.

Taking advantage of the growing demand for "Collegiate" education among the Bengalees, Government has gradually been raising the tuition fees in its colleges. While the highest monthly fee in Bombay is Rs. 10, and in Madras, the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab only Rs. 5, it is Rs. 12 in Bengal.*

Again, while the average annual cost to "Provincial" revenues for educating each pupil in the Government Arts Colleges, is Rs. 197-0-8 in Madras, Rs. 274-13-0 in Bombay. Rs. 179-13-11 in the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, and Rs. 477-1-10 in the Punjab, it is only Rs. 128-4-8 in Bengal. The same favourable result of comparison as regards Bengal is visible also in the case of "Secondary" education, for which the average cost per pupil to Provincial revenues is Rs. 18-5-8 in Madras, Rs. 13-9-9 in Bombay, Rs. 34-8-2 in the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, Rs. 25-4-8 in the Punjab, and only Rs. 10-4-4 in Bengal.†

We shall not discuss here the cost to Government per pupil incurred in each of the above mentioned five Provinces for "Primary" education, as our critics are not disposed to find fault with the Bengal Government for any expenditure incurred on that account.

We believe we have satisfactorily proved in the above that the Government of Bengal does not spend any larger proportion of its Revenue upon Education than is spent by any of the other Governments, and that the State expenditure for "Collegiate" and "Secondary" Education in Bengal is not proportionately greater than in any of the other Provinces. But it might be urged that all that we have said applies to the state of things that existed in 1881-82, when the State Expenditure upon Education was only Rs. 22,97,917, and that it cannot apply to 1884-85 when that expenditure increased to Rs. 30,80,000. The Government of Bengal managed to make this increased Grant by economising the resources that were placed at its disposal, and not by additional drawings on the Government of India, and it still had in 1884-85 a closing balance of Rs. 13,26,327.‡ But was this Grant of 30 lakhs for Education in Bengal in itself a large sum? The Revenue of Bengal under the heads "Imperial" and "Provincial," amounted in 1884-85 to Rs. 16,54,40,09 (—Imperial Rs. 12,32,47,277 § plus Provincial Rs. 4,21,92,782 ||), so that by spending out of it Rs. 30,80,000, Government spent only 1.86 per cent. of its Revenue upon Education. We do not know what the other Provinces,—Madras, Bombay, the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh

* Education Commission's Report, Statistical Tables, p. lxv.

† Ditto ditto ditto ditto pp. xxiv-xxvii.

‡ Bengal Administration Report for 1884-85. p. 280.

§ Ditto ditto ditto ditto " 247.

|| Ditto ditto ditto ditto " 280.

and the Punjab—have been doing since 1881-82, but we have seen that they were greatly in advance of Bengal in that year. Supposing that they have remained stationary during the past four years, which it is not likely that they have, Bengal has gone only a little ahead of three of them, for she is still behind the Punjab in this respect. But whatever the other Provinces of India may be doing, an expenditure of 1·86, or even, say, of 2 per cent. of the Revenue upon Education is not at all a large percentage. We have seen that England spends 5·6 per cent. of her Revenue upon the Education of her people. We shall give below the Expenditures upon Education of some of the other European States, of the Government of Ceylon, and of some of the Australian Colonies :—

Name of State.	Total Revenue	Total Expenditure upon Education.	Percentage of the Revenue spent upon Education.
	£	£	
Belgium ...	13,081,080 a	868,438 b	6·6
France ...	140,738,696 c	5,453,946 c	3·8
Prussia ...	56,680,818 d	1,644,669 e	2·9
Saxony ...	3,496,151 f	250,000 f	7·1
Russia ...	80,199,741 g	1,967,242 h	2·4
Ceylon ...	1,162,179 i	50,000 j	4·3
New South Wales ...	7,675,536 k	870,571 l	11·3
New Zealand ...	3,726,204 m	376,336 m	10·0
Victoria ...	5,602,067 n	598,970 o	10·6

a The *Statesman's Year Book* for 1885, page 38.

b Ditto ditto ditto page 36.

c Ditto ditto ditto page 68.

d Ditto ditto ditto page 129.

e Ditto ditto ditto page 128.

f Ditto ditto ditto page 150.

g Ditto ditto ditto page 400.

h Ditto ditto ditto page 398.

i Ditto ditto ditto page 745.

j Ditto ditto ditto page 746.

k Ditto ditto ditto page 832.

l Ditto ditto ditto page 831.

m Ditto ditto ditto page 837.

n Ditto ditto ditto page 863.

o Ditto ditto ditto page 862.

We have not been able to collect information regarding the remaining European States, as the Expenditure under the head of Education is not shown separately in their cases, but is mixed up with that under "Public Worship." We have had some difficulty even as regards Prussia. The amount spent upon "Public Worship and Instruction" in this State is 53,159,355 marks (= £ 2,608,024) and we fear the proportion spent upon "Instruction" only is greater than what is stated at page 128 of the Statesman's Year-Book as having been set down for public instruction, and which we have quoted. But it is sufficient for our purpose that Russia, which is admitted to be the least advanced amongst them, spends upon Education a much larger proportion of her Revenue than Bengal has yet ventured to spend. A reduction in the Bengal Education Grant would therefore, be a backward movement, which, we hope, our Government will be wise enough not to pursue. Any one taking the trouble to examine the accounts of the Bengal Educational Expenditure since 1881-82, will find that there has been no increase during the last four years in the expenditure upon "Collegiate" Education, but that the increase has chiefly been under the heads of "European and Eurasian" Education and "Primary" Education. It is not our intention to find fault with Government for what it is doing for the advancement of the Europeans and Eurasians, but it is worth while to mention here that, out of a total grant of Rs. 30,80,000 in 1884-85, so much as Rs. 2,09,806 was spent over 69 European and Eurasian Schools attended by 6,389 pupils, while the balance Rs. 28,70,194 was distributed among 72,572 Native Schools and Colleges, attended by 1,463,791 pupils. The Inspector of the 69 European Schools, drawing a salary of Rs. 1,250 a month, spent only 82 days in the year in the inspection work, in which he is further assisted by an officer who is paid Rs. 300 a month. As most of the above mentioned 69 schools are situated in Calcutta or within easy distances thereof, it strikes us that the Inspector and his Assistant have not very hard work to do. The Direction and Inspection charges in Bengal are much higher than in any of the other sister Provinces, and the above facts regarding the inspection of the European and Eurasian schools, go to a certain extent to show why the Inspection charges are so high in Bengal.

It is often alleged by critics that there is already too much of High Education in Bengal, that the supply of University Graduates is greater than the demand, and that, as a consequence thereof, the number of Graduates pressing on Government for appointment is daily increasing. We do not deny that this is to a certain extent true, but we believe the increase is yet nothing to be alarmed at. The Service Lists show that few of the graduates have yet entered the Police and Postal Departments,

and that even in the *Native Civil Service*, there are only 4 Graduates among 116 Sub-Deputy Collectors. It was expressly with the object of drawing "men of the best education,"* that Sir George Campbell organized his *Native Civil Service* scheme. Sir George Campbell believed that "Rs. 25 or Rs. 30 with the prospect of promotion,"† would be sufficient to attract such men, and with that object he fixed the salary of the lowest appointment (Kanoongoeship) in his scheme at Rs. 50 a month. It will be hopeless to search for Graduate-Kanoongoes, when there are only 4 Graduate Sub-Deputy Collectors on Rs. 100, and upwards. The number of Graduate clerks, especially in the Mofussil, will also be found to be very small—not even one in a hundred. The Bar, in fact, has greater attractions for the Graduates than the Government Services, excepting the Subordinate Judicial and the Executive. Those that cannot join the Bar, or are not successful therein, prefer School-masterships to appointments of a Ministerial nature.

As yet, therefore, it cannot be said that the supply of University Graduates is greater than the demand. We do not know of a single instance in which a Graduate was not provided, at least, with a School-mastership. The abolition of any of the Government Colleges will not, however, reduce the annual supply of University Graduates. The place of a Government College abolished will be supplied by a Private one, Missionary or Native, and as Private Colleges are now passing B. A.'s in large numbers, there is no reason to suppose that there will be any material diminution in the annual number of B. A.'s if a Government College ceases to exist. But the training imparted, in the Private Colleges, being of an inferior nature, there will be a falling off in the quality of the B. A.'s turned out by those Institutions. Leaving out of consideration the Native Colleges which are of recent growth, we see that not even the Missionary Colleges can compete with the Government Colleges, as regards the quality of the education imparted in them. The four Missionary Colleges of Calcutta are all of old standing, and the fees levied in them are less than half of what is levied in the Presidency College, and yet that College is resorted to by a large number of students, the majority of whom belong not to the richer, but the middle classes.‡ What then is the reason

* Bengal Administration Report for 1871-72, page 79.

† Ditto ditto ditto ditto.

‡ In 1884-85, the classification of students according to social position of their parents and guardians was as follows—

Belonging to the Richer classes	...	84
" " Middle "	...	119
" " Poorer "	...	1
Total :	...	204

that the Presidency College, where tuition is so very expensive, is such a favourite with the natives? Simply, because, the education imparted in it is much superior to what is imparted in any of the Private Colleges—Missionary or Native. The successful students of the Presidency College are also the most successful in life. The Senior Native Judge of the High Court, the Native District Judge of Bankoorah, and all the Subordinate and Small Cause Court Judges, who are Graduates in Law (there are a few who are not) graduated themselves in Arts, with only one or two exceptions, from the Presidency College. The Munsiffs, again, are, with a few exceptions, Graduates of Government Colleges. The best officers in the Subordinate Executive Service, and the best pleaders of the High Court and the Mofussil Courts, also received their training in the Government Colleges. Such being the case, Government by withdrawing from the management of any of its Colleges, will not only make itself unnecessarily unpopular with its native subjects, but will contribute towards the lowering of the character of the education that the people have so long enjoyed and will necessarily lower also the character of the Administration.

We could show that all the *Civilized* Governments of the world bear a large proportion of the costs for giving Collegiate education to their peoples. But it is sufficient for our purpose to mention what England does for the maintenance of the Colleges of Ireland. The State expenditure on the Irish Colleges was £14,378 in 1884-85.* In the same year the State expenditure on the Colleges of Bengal was Rs. 5,65,145.† As the population of Bengal, (66,691,436) is nearly 12½ times that of Ireland (5,174,836)‡ Bengal should at the Irish rate be allowed a grant of, at least, Rs. 17,97,250 (taking a £ = 10 Rs.) for Collegiate education and not Rs. 5,65,145 as at present. But what is considered fair in the case of others, is not considered so in the case of Bengalees. We, however, hope that the good sense which has hitherto uniformly characterized the Educational policy of our Rulers will not now forsake them.

DARJEELING, } PARBATI CHURN ROY, B.A., U.C.S.
December 14, 1886. }

* The Statesman's Year Book for 1885, p. 229.

† Report on Public Instruction for 1884-85, p. 3.

‡ The Statesman's Year-book for 1885, p. 263.

ART. III.—ARE ISLAM AND CIVILISATION IRRECONCILEABLE?

ONCE apart from general considerations as to the solidarity of the human race, there are not wanting special reasons which may commend the above question to our attention. The chronic difficulty in Eastern Europe is always suggesting such an inquiry ; the acute Egyptian malady presses it upon us, from time to time, with grave insistence. Most of all is it involved in the task undertaken by the British in India, where the Muslims make up a community exceeding in number the whole population of the German Empire. It is true that this community, as a whole, is depressed and poor ; and so the answer may be forestalled. Moreover, these people are uneducated, and in their ignorance apt to charge upon what we call "civilisation," the blame of their poverty and depression. Yet these things do not conclude the controversy ; for the misery and degradation of a community generally end in causing danger and trouble to that community's rulers ; and if the civilisation assumed to be antagonistic is to be monopolised by one party in the State, the other is not unlikely to play the game without observing the rules, and to give the civilised, on the whole, what may be called "a bad time." Egypt and the Ottoman Empire have similar claims. For, it is to be borne in mind, that in regard to the responsibility of our Government for the depression which has fallen upon Islám, it should be observed that our statesmen have already incurred for their country both odium and injury by befriending Muslims in Turkey and in Egypt. To go back no further than the memory of the present generation, what an undertaking was the Crimean War ! Side by side with the tainted power of the Second Empire in France, we upheld the Crescent against a real Crusade. In Egypt and the Soudan, British treasure and British blood are still ready to be spent in defence of the Khedive, against Mahometan foes as it just now happens, but surely against all comers too, if need be. Yet how do these efforts strike the world ; most of all, what is their effect on the reconciliation of Islám ? Crusaders we can never again be : the nation has outgrown the crusading stage. The last Britons who were in any degree touched with that spirit, were such as Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Herbert Edwardes : but "the knight's bones are dust ;" and crusading is now left to the Russians. They continue to act in that spirit whenever they can get an excuse for attacking Turk or Turkoman ; but they are not recognised as a model by other nations of Christendom. Sir Charles Napier, in his noble *History of the Peninsular War*, goes so far

as to characterise the Russian Government as "the most brutal, the most swinish tyranny that ever menaced or degraded European civilisation;" and, although such language savours of the perfervid rhetoric which sometimes fell from that eloquent soldier, we may at least admit that there is a backwardness, both in Russian method and in Russian ideas. There is, certainly, a sort of *natif* barbarism in supposing, either that opinion has much influence on conduct, or that it can be usefully dealt with by force. In any case, such are not the notions that prevail in Modern England; we discuss—and in some portion of the Empire practise—concurrent endowment; we foster Roman Catholic education; we admit Jews into both Houses of Parliament; crusaders we can never be. And herein we seem to have the authority of the Founder of Christianity itself; "My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight." In dealing with Mahometan British subjects, we are met with this preliminary difficulty, that they have been trained in the other school. According to the popularly accepted view of their creed, the *Koran* is so necessary to man that it ought to be spread by the sword and supported by the sceptre. The utmost point to which men so believing could rise, might be hatred for unbelieving, unless blended with contempt for the weakness which keeps them from the like methods. Yet there is something in the pride of this class of Mahometans which is not altogether without claims to respect. Their system has had a great past. It rose like a sudden fire in the jungles, sweeping away a vast quantity of idolatry and savagery. And, having done so, it gave, if but for the moment, to those religions over which it passed, as high a civilisation as they were then fit for; and that State was one of more light and refinement than the Christian nations of that time knew. The names of Avicenna and of Averroes, and of Harun-al-Rashid, are only the most familiar among those of men who were a light in the dreadful gloom of the Dark Ages. Some of these men were of a lofty and emancipated mind. Averroes boldly denounced all alleged revelations, calling the religion of the *Koran* itself "a religion of swine." The astronomer-poet of Khorasan (out of whose quatrains the late Mr E. Fitzgerald wove his remarkable work) so far preferred good deeds to orthodoxy, as to say—

" In fane or cloister, mosque, or school, one lies
 Adread of hell, one dreams of paradise,
 But none that know the secrets of the Lord
 Will sow their hearts with such like fantasies;
 Ah! strive amain no human heart to wring,
 Let no man feel thine anger burn or sting;
 Wouldst thou be wrapped in never ending bliss
 Know how to suffer, cause no suffering."

The Mahometans of whom I now speak are in a very different state of thought. Partly, indeed, descended from races of great fame and vigour, the followers of the Abbaside Caliphs, or those of Khublai Khan, they, at least, as much represent Hindu ancestors—chiefly of what is called “low caste”—who embraced Islam, from fear of persecution or from hope of favour, when their country was under the sway of Muslim, ugless, like the Papists of the British Islands, the Indian Mahometans are now mainly divisible into a minority of dæcorous votaries among the more prosperous, and a multitude of unquestioning fanatics among the poor. The members of both these classes are in great need of help. They need education suited to their respective cases; those among them who are natural leaders need a fair amount of scientific instruction also. And all need sympathetic treatment from their alien rulers, and a proportionate share of confidence and of such employment and such consideration as may be suited to what ought to be their improving condition. Even in private life they do not compete with their Hindu fellow-subjects on equal terms. Landed property is passing out of their possession; familiar once, well known and highly respected, they have been declining for several generations; in the larger towns there are numbers of men of birth living more or less in want. If we turn to public careers, we find that in Bengal—where Mahometans are most numerous—they do not supply their fair share of recruits to the service of the State, or of practitioners to the learned and liberal professions. In the three Eastern Provinces of India, the Mahometans form 31 per cent. of the population, while among the higher employés, they are only in a ratio of about 13. The condition of the unlearned is even worse. Speaking a language different from those of their social superiors, they escape from the influence of their natural leaders; and they have become, what is locally known, as “Farázis,” who are under the guidance of demagogues of their own class. Imbued with wild democratic notions, this section of Muslims forms a great and growing danger to society.

For the latest account of the attitude of the Indian Mahometans at large, one cannot have fresher or better authority than the report of a recent “Congress” held at Bombay. Writing under date, 31st December 1885, the *Times* correspondent from that city, after stating that the meeting was chiefly composed of pleaders, schoolmasters and editors from all parts of India, goes on to say that their aspirations were rather for political than social reform. But he adds that “the Mahometans were not there. They remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to the Hindus in capacity for development. But they persistently refuse to

act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress." The correspondent thought that the reason of this was not hard to find : and he found it in traditions of past predominance. That is as it may be. In any case the *fact* is of a most startling character, whatever be its cause. Either this, the largest single class or community in the peninsula, does not see any hope in political agitation, or it is too broken and disintegrated to act. The correspondent's notion is that "two hundred years ago they were the dominant race ;" but this is not altogether true ; for the Mahometans—as we have seen—have no common race character : indeed, the only corporate designation by which they are known, either in India or elsewhere, is "Muslim," or followers of Islám : Islám meaning "submission" or "conformity" to the Divine will. One might as well talk of the "race of Quakers or Bible Christians." And what is more, Muslim rulers held a very doubtful authority—certainly in the country where Bombay is situated, two hundred years ago ; and the fact that a Mughul ruled in Hindustan Proper at that time could have but little effect on the minds of the ordinary run of modern Muslim peasants, weavers, or fishermen, if they wished to ask anything of the present government. But indeed, in all India, the Mahometans are now in a sad state of poverty, ignorance and disorganisation ; and, if the wants of the Hindus are political rather than social, the Mahometans' wants are evidently social not political. Nevertheless, were it not for the fact that they have traditions of better days, and that, here and there among them, minds of exceptional brightness and culture are beginning to arise and shine, and to take more practical views than the paper politicians of the "Congress," there would be but a poor outlook either for their rulers or for themselves.

If, now, we are to determine why the Indian Mahometans or Muslims have so little political belief, while the Hindus are showing almost as much enthusiasm as the nations of modern Europe, what is to be said ? Well it seems that the main reason of their depression must be sought in the character of their peculiar system. From the very first Islam has had to meet a danger which marks it off from all great institutions of its kind. Orthodox Muslims, generally, have always held, that there has been, from the Apostolic times, a final conclusion of the canon of Scripture, of all canonical exegesis, even of civil and criminal law. Christianity has had its formalists and worshippers, yet it has usually succeeded in freeing its believers for most purposes of practical life. The Latin Church has claimed the power of applying and developing revealed documents by the help of tradition, and of an inherent gift coming down from the founder through a duly appointed succession.

In most of the other Western Churches, even that much is not insisted upon. Neither Stanley, nor Farrar, de Pressense, Monod, Channing, or Theodore Parker, would be coerced by reference to the Christian Fathers any more than the London Courts of Law would bow to a text from the Pentateuch. We render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

But the Muslim is barred from all attempts to suit his creed or his practice to the changing environments of the world. This says Abu Khaldun, the great lawyer of North Africa, who died in 1406:—

"The prophet unfolded the meaning . . . and communicated this knowledge to his companions . . . which knowledge they imparted, by word of mouth, to their followers . . . Then the art of writing became common; and thenceforth the business of the commentator was to collect the sayings of the companions so imparted."

To ensure purity of record as to such traditions, it was required that the relator of a tradition must also repeat the chain of authorities from which he received it. In the 2nd century of the *Hijira* (Hegireh) the necessity for a written record became generally felt and acknowledged: and then authorised collectors arose. These, and these alone, are recognised by the purists—the Sunnis and Wahhabis. The other sects reject their records, but substitute others of their own. Beyond the just depositaries neither text nor comment is allowed. We may perhaps faintly realise the fatal power of this obstacle to progress by making a bold supposition. It may have been observed that, when speaking of the superior flexibility of Christian systems, no mention was made of the Eastern Churches. Now, let us suppose—and the hypothesis is not, perhaps, wholly groundless—that there was among these such a branch of the religious world, in which it had been resolved that no rule of faith should be obeyed, but the decision of, say, the first seven Councils, and the Apostolic traditions preserved by the early Fathers, ending with Chrysostom. That supposition might exhibit the theological block: but even then, would be quite insufficient, unless by "the rule of faith," we could understand an unbending control of morality, of law, and of every form of human action. "This," it has been said by a Muslim writer, "effectually prevents all change, and, by excluding innovation, whether good or bad, keeps Islam stationary. Nothing must be done contrary to the principles contained in the jurisprudence of the Imâns. The Sultan, or Khâlid can claim the allegiance of his people only so long as he remains the exact executor of the prescriptions of the law."

Not "of law," be it observed: Europeans have held that; but "of the law." We sometimes find our lawyers stating

that English law is based on Christianity, but it has never been laid down that a counter-monger is to be stoned to death if he sells apples on Sunday—or Saturday either—still less does the constitution of these islands require that the legislature shall never exact any provisions that are not already to be found in the Bible, and in commentaries written by certain teachers of the first century. Yet that is the length to which Islam confines its rulers. It has been often said that all that is needed for the reform of the Turkish Empire, is that the orders of the Cabinet of the Sultan should take the place of the ancient law. And we have had "Hatts," "Hadis" and what not, deistically extorted by diplomacy from the Porte—and thenceforth remaining dead letters, as dead as if they had never been born. For, neither can the Sultan be a Caliph—not being of the tribe of the Koraish—nor could the decisions of the most legitimate of Caliphs have the force of law, unless they were in complete accordance with the Koran and with the true and authentic traditions observed by the companions. We know the story of the Library of Alexandria—*o vers o den trovato*—that spirit is still a living force with all orthodox Muslim States. The point deserves the more attention, because it is always overlooked by European publicists, and not perhaps always recognised by diplomatists in action. Now, here we have a peculiar trouble for a non-Muslim power which yet rules the largest Muslim population in the world. The Indian Mahometans are only one-fifth of the whole population of India, but they are ten times as numerous as the whole population of Ireland; and their complaint is not that England does not legislate for them as they wish, but that neither we nor any one else can have any right to legislate for them at all. Meanwhile the still vaster population among whom they live is governed, and desires to be governed, on quite different principles. England, therefore, is so far as has been said) "the greatest Mahometan power," that she rules the largest of all Mahometan communities; yet, for exerting her power over them, she seems to be peculiarly incapacitated. She cannot be a crusading nation, she cannot be a Muslim Sultan or Caliph: she cannot proscribe Muslim principles nor adopt them. The reason of that is that in Muslim societies, a view of things prevails which is opposed to what we consider civilization. It may be briefly described as Divine Right gone wrong: Theocracy in its most rigid and inhuman form. It is based on the following propositions:—

State and Church are not so much connected as identical; and,

Therefore Law is founded on Revelation and is incapable of reform.

From these two, also, it follows that the Moslem world is destined to become weaker nations, and substituting itself for the Moslem world, Islam has hitherto proved in the long run a very bad form of government and a most inconvenient form of administration.

The real clue, then, to the difficulties that occur in the contract of civilisation with Muslims, whether in India as subjects, or in Turkey and Egypt as allies, may now be seen. It is the product of Muslim antipathy to the leading principles of modern social evolution. Doubtless there are civilised Muslims ; and it is, occasionally, the good fortune of European public men to deal with them. But the orthodox or Arab school objects irreconcilably to the mutability that we call progress, and to the hugry of Western ways. The modern or Turkish school, on the other hand, objects to Western strictness about purity in affairs. And the two classes of objections are too often united in one and the same case ; and this may be the case with which we have to deal ; tending to produce the most complete fusion of religious obstructivism with administrative corruption that can well exist.

Hence we may draw the unwelcome conclusion that, with the common phenomena of Islám, it is impossible for civilised statesmen to have much sympathy. And this, not so much by reason of what we deem errors of abstract opinion, but by reason of views which act deleteriously on conduct.

This is serious. It seems at first sight at least to involve the pessimist position that Mahometanism—the creed of so large a mass of British subjects—is the one form of faith with which it is impossible to deal. This theocratic scheme of theirs appears as a polity, which begins by stereotyping a code which was originally framed for a tribe of Arabian shepherds. Having done so, it has next proceeded to confound Church with State in such a manner as to leave the people between hammer and anvil, without the protection which, in other systems, the crosier can afford against the sceptre, without the counteraction which, elsewhere, the mitre has undergone from the crown. With true historical insight a modern Muslim writer has pointed out, that there was a time when a part, at least, of Christendom was in a similar strait. In the middle ages there were parts of Europe, where the church, embraced adulterously by the secular arm, gave birth to a monster which, happily, has proved in the long run abortive. In Spain where this Unholy Alliance had the longest duration, a paralytic society was engendered, and there we have, or had till lately, a sort of parallel to the decrepitude of Islám. In most parts of Europe, however, a beneficial separation has prevailed. Here the clergy have held up the lamp of learning, while the rulers have given less and less of the sanction of force to their teaching. In such regions knowledge and freedom broaden day by day.

Native Muslim rulers have everywhere sunk under the burden imposed upon them by these things. It remains to be seen how European rulers are to surmount the difficulty. The social evil of polygamy, indeed, is one with which no State can hope to deal. The old saying of Horace is still applicable ;—

“ Quid leges sine moribus ? ”

But there are other directions in which State aid is more likely to be profitable. Only this year a case has been disposed of by the Privy Council which illustrates one aspect of this sort of need. A Mahometan family of distinction in Upper India, had to administer to the estate of their deceased father. Not being able to agree, they took their case into the District Court at Meerut. The eldest son contended that the system of primogeniture should prevail : other members of the family argued that the property must be divided amongst all the family according to the Muslim law of distribution. The District Court decided in their favour, and the decision was affirmed by the provincial High Court ; an appeal was then prepared to the Judicial Committee, where it was ruled by two retired Indian judges and two English lawyers, that there is no alternative, but that the local awards must be upheld. That was sound law, but the result will be to perpetuate a state of things under which Muslim society is being dissolved and destroyed. In Eastern Mahometan States, indeed, an alternative might be sometimes found. What no Court of law could do has been sometimes brought about by club-law and the force of circumstances. An originally administrative charge has been known to be converted into a family estate which might devolve upon the eldest son. In the weakness of the central power such an estate would grow into a more or less independent principality. But such processes are impossible in British India. Muslim society must there find some other remedy, or it must gradually perish of ultimate pulverisation. Rocks being impossible nothing can be left but barren sand.

This is only one instance of the delicate duties that await a Mahometan power that is not Muslim. Another has hitherto been the question of education. If the Muslims of British India were properly educated, they might know how to set to work to get civilising elements introduced into their law of property. And, fortunately there is at last a prospect of this taking place. There has arisen among Indian Muslims, a man who has been able to reconcile a large and influential part of his religionists to Western knowledge, claiming to be an orthodox Muslim, and tracing his descent to the best blood of Arabia. The Honourable Sayid Ahmad Khan, C.S.I., has been able to set on Protestant, if not, rationalising ideas as to the connection between things secular and things spiritual.

Distinguished by manifold labours as a man of letters, a statesman, and a judge, the worthy Saiyed will probably be best known in history as the founder of the "Anglo-Muhammadi College" of Aligarh. But it is perhaps less known that there are, in other parts of the vast Indian Peninsula, a certain number of mentally-emancipated Muslims who have sympathised with the movement, and who are seeking to apply its principles, not only to educational purposes but to those of general social reform. Surrounded by the overwhelming pressure of European thought and practice, they are asking sadly, whence is the eclipse that has come over the once keen brightness of the crescent? Is that eclipse never to pass by? The solidarity of customs which once gave unity of spirit to a wider area and a larger number of human beings than were ever swayed by a merely patriotic feeling, from the banks of the Jaxartes to the shores of the Atlantic, has lost its force. The conviction that animated the hordes of Mongols, Seljuks and Osmanlis, that struck down the Gothic kings of Spain and waved its horse-tail standards under the walls of Vienna—that conviction is now confined to a few African slave-dealers. The sons of Changez Khán cower before the Chinese; the representatives of Muhamad II, cringe to the moral suasions of the "European concert."

Surely to a community thus brooding over fallen fortunes and lost prestige, the respect of all generous observers is due. Saiyed Ahmad's attention appears to have been turned to the subject by the events of the Sepoy revolt in 1857. Himself distinguished by the courageous loyalty, which, in that calamitous time, he yielded to his Christian employers, his pain at the low estate of his brethren was enhanced by a sense that they had incurred, in those troubles, a not wholly unmerited distrust. Not acquainted with English literature at first hand, he remembered that in the palmy days of Islám, a knowledge of occidental science had animated the *Mutazilas* of Iúák and the "Pure Brothers" of Bassora. He began his work by publishing a pamphlet in which he vindicated the loyalty of Indian Muslims, and then turned to the business of organising a Committee for the translation into the vernacular of Hindustan, of some of the best works on European science. He next proceeded to lay the foundations of an Academy where these things should be taught, in such a manner as to familiarise young Muslim students with Western ideas. As he undertook to combine with this system of instruction, an orthodox curriculum of Mahometan literature, the compromise was, little by little, accepted by enlightened Muslims. He has lived to see the completion of an immense College, endowed and supported by some of the most distinguished men of almost

every faith: English statesmen, Hindu Rajas, and Muslim potentates, among whom have appeared the late Prime Minister of the Deccan, and his successor, the present Salar Jung.

Neither the Saïyed nor his supporters openly claim for themselves the title of Mutazila,* though something of the spirit is doubtless there. We have already seen how the example for free thought and study was set, in the early days of Islam, by Avicenna and Averroës. The influence of the school sustained a heavy blow in the conversion to Sunnite orthodoxy of Ashari, who died in the odour of sanctity in the middle of the tenth century A. D., after having been the reputed author of four hundred heretical books. But the thirst for freedom and for knowledge was only dormant. Abul Fazl, the well-known Minister of the Emperor Akbar, and his brother Faize, revived the smouldering fires in the sixteenth century; and now we see the third Muslim renaissance dawning in a happier time. It is needed, if Islam is to be reconciled to the development of modern society. Orthodox Mahometanism is a system only suited to a very special and backward condition of life. Born amid a society of shepherds, it regards mankind as little more than a flock of "dumb driven cattle." While readily admitted, the idea of monarchy is of the most unfruitful kind. As their deity is a capricious despot, so is their earthly ruler, Caliph or Sultan; he is popularly spoken of as the "Shadow of God." If it be his pleasure he can call a water-carrier to command his armies, and surround himself with a cabinet of favourite slaves. Beyond what is created by the monarch's caprice, there is no social hierarchy. And what he has raised, he can in like manner overthrow, literally speaking—"he putteth down the mighty from their seats and exalbeth the humble" as an earthly deity. That system, whatever we may think of it in theory, is eminently unsuited to India, whether to its present condition or to its traditions of the past. India is a land of graded levels. Not only is the system of caste in-itself favourable to such ideas, though that system is more native to all Aryan races than is always recognised. But the social practice of the Hindus is in conformity with such ideas, quite apart from the caste-system: all through the ill-recorded period that—for want of a better term—one calls Hindu history, we can trace the presence of high and low and of higher and lower. Great mercantile houses, great families of landed magnates, everywhere appear, with a recognised middle class, and a proletariat of free labourers. Among the Mahometans

* For particulars of the history of this sect, the reader may refer to Shahrastani's little treatise, *Die Muwahidin oder Freudenmänner im Islam*. We are told by Shahrastani that they held that there was no eternal law as regards human action, but that law is a matter of gradual evolution.

on the other hand, as already observed, there is no social stability. The water-carrier may, in another year, command the soldiers to whom he was wont to minister; and his son again, may come to serve as a private spearman because his father's property will all have been escheated to the crown on that father's death: slavery is a recognised institution, but the slave is well treated and may rise to be a Sultan. A feeble though arbitrary centralisation is the general type of Government. Only in the decay of Empires will a rebellious Governor find a power, as the Chief Commissioner of the Deccan founded the Principality of Haidarabad, which now poses as an independent power under the style and title of "the Nizam's dominions." So we see in European Turkey, the work of disintegration proceeding from political weakness at the centre. But in Islám, as Islám and abstraction being made of such exceptional conditions there is no provision for the origin or for the maintenance of a powerful and patriotic nobility, such as has—without causing disruption—often shewn such efficiency in curbing the power of the European monarchies. Indeed, it would seem as if something of policy had joined with Muslim law to prevent the formation of great private families. The Monarch being taken for an earthly God, could tolerate no peers. The eternal spirit of confiscation is the ready solvent of which he avails himself to complete the work begun by the "revealed" law of distribution. The estates of dead men are absorbed, and family property can no more accrue than could family souls or intellects: as the spirit returns to God that gave it, so does property return to the Sultan—the shadow of God—by whose favour it was acquired, or if such estates as have been mentioned ever accrue, they can only be formed upon a dynastic basis, so that the successor of a great Chief must make of his inherited territory a petty State, in which all the old evils begin over again. Such a condition of affairs was not unknown in Mediæval Europe: but the institutions of those regions, and the spirit of their inhabitants, restoring the partition of functions, constantly prevented the process of dissolution from making head. And so the petty foes of society have been turned into leaders and ornaments. But the Mahometan nobles had no choice but to become rebels or paupers. In British India they have not even that alternative. The responsibility of our Government is, primarily, for the maintenance of civil order: and that Government cannot allow rebellion, on pain of perishing amidst universal contempt. If a *modus vivendi* is ever to be established with Islám there, it must be upon the basis of "la carrière ouverte aux talents," without detriment to the interests of peace. But Islam cannot be allowed to make for violence. Neither, on the other

hand, must it cripple exertion, retard movement, or damp honourable ambition. Here then is the problem. The bulk of those many Muslim millions believe in the pulverisation of society, tempered by occasional usurpation; and they believe it with the peculiar earnestness born of a conviction that their sinister scheme is of divine ordination. Such a singular mixture of Nihilism and Puitanism has to be confronted resolutely and made to harmonise with the Imperial kosmos. The only apparent instruments for this salutary process¹ are to be found in the school that has been indicated above. The indigenous reformers have perceived that reform is as necessary a remedy for their social cares as it is for the cares of their rulers. They have for some years been calling upon the British Government to inaugurate a better day, by means of public instruction and of alteration in law. Unable of their own unaided motion, to modify the laws of Islam, they ask for some degree of *lex loci* to be extended to persons of their creed. With the law of distribution *ab intestato*, indeed, they are not usually prepared to deal, though some have gone so far as to ask that the Indian Succession Act may be extended to the estates of Muslims. The writer of these pages has been informed by a gentleman who has been lately employed in the administration of a Mahometan Province, that he found the people generally disposed to make family settlements for keeping estates together, in defiance of Muslim law. Such men would be ripe for legislation. Less advanced reformers admit that many Muslims of property are turning their attention in the same direction, and are even resorting to expedients of questionable propriety, to avoid the necessity for which they would hail, with voice of welcome, the aid of legislature, as to testamentary disposition, if for no more.

We have all heard of the attempts of the Emperor Akbar to substitute common sense for Scriptural precidianism. Those attempts failed, mainly for want of legislative machinery, and generally, for the reason that the times were not ripe. The country is now better prepared. The movement of what we may call "the new Mutazilas" has begun; on the side of the Government, legislative machinery is complete—or nearly so. It is the argument of the reformers that the fanatical spirit of the Koran has been much exaggerated. The desire to spread Islam by force was due, they say, rather to an instinct of self-preservation than to a persecuting spirit: wherever Islam is protected there is Muslim loyalty possible and due.

This school was formerly supported in the legislature by Sayyid Ahmad. If there be any truth in the doctrines of that school, readers of this paper will, perhaps, be of opinion

that such a member should always have a seat there. If he were as prudent and sympathetic as the Sayyid, his presence would do much to win the confidence of Indian Muslims for the Government. If the Mutazila account of Muslim fanaticism be true, that fanaticism ought to be mitigated, by the removal of political or social discontent. British rulers should make no unworthy concessions, nor is there any danger of their being so tempted, if they will act while there is yet time. The political ardours of the Hindus are not yet shaged by the Farazis or other Muslims: no threats are at present breathed; there is no danger of a course of conciliation being confused with concession to menace. As to the creed of Islám, it need neither be encouraged nor oppressed. It has its germs of goodness: let the sun but shine upon them and they will expand. So it is hoped.

Some years ago Messrs. Trübner & Co. published a selection of extracts from the Koran, translated by Sir Wm. Muir. Some of these were calculated to charm English readers, by exhibiting that pious contemplation of nature which is so conspicuous in the *psalms*. Others showed a just conception of the position of man, not merely in relation to the phenomenal world, but towards his fellow-men. Nor were there wanting hints of a genuine and practical view of the real character of righteousness as independent of theological conformity and virtual observance.

"Righteousness," says the *Sura of the Cow* "is not this, that ye turn your faces to East or to West. But Righteousness is THIS; whosoever believeth in God, and judgment, and the Law, and the Prophets, and whosoever for the love of God, giveth of his substance to kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and the traveller, and to those who crave alms, and for the release of captives; and whosoever observeth worship and charity; and whosoever having covenanted, fulfilis his covenant, and is patient under affliction and in time of violence, of such are the righteous and they that fear the Lord."

It would be hard to find a better summary of positive precepts for the observance of Christians. Elsewhere negative principles also may be found. And, to those who may think that an excess of insistence on conformity still lurks in the Prophet's statement of the whole Duty of Man, may be commended the last utterance of that great man, as reported by Ibu Khaldun—according to whom Mahamad said on his death bed—

It is my pleasure that Islám be your religion; nevertheless, if any man without wilful perversity should be led to transgress, verily, on him too, will the Lord have mercy."

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With which words of peace we may willingly conclude. They confirm the warranty of other experiences, for the expectation of an ultimate freedom. We cannot see to-day what points of departure may be preparing for the morrow. All that we know is, that while the mass of the Turks in Europe is formed of an honest, manly and laborious people, the Indian Muslims are coming into contact with modern science in thought and in practice. If the changes that such conditions bring, should prove displeasing to other followers of Islám, we can only hope that unavoidable dissidences may be mild and of short endurance. Already we have pilgrims to the Prophet's shrine becoming objects of solicitude to a British Viceroy. It can hardly be but that the yearly arrival at Mecca of fifteen thousand of "Hájjis" personally conducted by a firm of London contractors, and telling of a land of progress and perfect toleration, should influence their brethren.

May that influence prove strong in the direction of reconciliation and of peace!

G. H. KEENE.

ART. IV.—THE FUNCTIONS OF MODERN BRAHMANS IN UPPER INDIA.

NO. I.

THE priestly castes of Upper India, and indeed of India generally, may be almost summed up in a single word—Brahman. The Brahman is the coping stone, to which all the other stones of the social arch converge, the model upon which all the other castes were formed, and in a certain sense, the cause of their existence. But the word "Brahman," whatever its original sense may have been, is now a term of rather vague import. It denotes not one, but a multitude of castes or sub-castes, which are almost as distinct from each other as those of any other series of castes that could be named; and if they are called by the generic name of Brahman, it must not be understood that they intermarry or eat together, as if they constituted a single tribe or brotherhood, but merely that they have some connection, direct or indirect, with religion, the common element, and have sprung out of a common germ. The lowest of these Brahmanical castes are despised by some Brahmans themselves, and are held in very little respect by the upper castes of the outside community; but by the lower and more ignorant classes, almost every Brahman, whatever his rank or status may be among his own brethren, is regarded with a feeling of instinctive awe, such as no other caste in the Indian community can ever expect to inspire.

According to the Census Report of 1881 the total number of Brahmans in the North-West and Oudh (all kinds included) amounts to no less than 4,690,850, or about 12 per cent. of the total indigenous population of the province, Hindu and Muhammadan. Distinct altogether from the Brahman, yet closely connected with him in character, and representing tenets and modes of life sanctioned by Brahmanical authority and example, is the Goshayen, whose caste numbers altogether 118,308 persons. Distinct both from the Goshayen and the Brahman, yet in some respects resembling both, there are many different orders of religious mendicants, who profess to have retired from the world, and to have done so for the sake of studying or practising one aspect or another of the many-sided creed, of which Brahmans have been the principal authors. These according to the Census, number 226,122 persons. The Brahman, then, is by far the most numerous as well as the most important of the religious fraternities, and the attempt, which we now propose to make, to sketch his origin and describe his present functions will, I fear, take up a disproportionate amount

of space in this Review—an emblem of the caste itself, which has appropriated far too large a share of the time, wealth, and attention of the Hindu community.

The original function, which called the Brahman into existence and formed him into a distinct social unit, was the performance of sacrifice. It was so with the caste of Levite among the people of Israel, and has been so with every other order of priesthood, throughout the world, founded on a deistic basis. As regards the Brahman or Indian priest, this is abundantly clear from the ancient Vedic hymn-books or *sankhitas*, from the Vedic liturgies or *Brahmanas* (all of which deal almost exclusively with sacrifice,) from the ancient law-books or *Smritis*, from the two great national epics (the Ramayana and the Mahâbhârata), and from many of the Purâns or ancient histories. The name "Brahman" shows clearly enough that the origin of the caste so termed was sacerdotal—that is, functional, and not tribal. One of the numerous names by which a sacrificial prayer was called in the Vedas is *brahma* (neuter), and a man who composed or recited such prayers was called *brahma*, (masculine). At the outset any man, to whatever tribe he belonged, or whatever his occupation might be, could be his own priest, and no such thing as a distinct caste, possessing the exclusive monopoly of performing sacrifices, existed. The original ceremonial practised by the first Aryan settlers in India was very simple and intelligible, as compared with what it afterwards became in an age less devoted to the attractions of war, and more prone to listen to the gloomy suggestions of priestcraft. The divinities worshipped by the earliest Hindus were the various elements, powers, or departments of nature, whom they personified into a class of divine spirits or deities and invoked under such names as Indra, the sky ; Vâyu the wind ; Agni, fire ; Rudra, the tempest ; Vishnu, the sun ; Piithivi, the earth ; Chandra, the moon ; Ushas, the dawn ; Varuna, the water, &c., &c. As the worshipper was brought face to face with the elements and forces of the world around him, and was not bound to distinguish between the physical agents themselves and the unseen spirits or deities who were supposed to preside over them, he felt no necessity for the presence of idols or temples. The only temple required by such a creed was the sacrificial floor, and the air itself sufficed for the sanctuary of the Devas or "bright beings" who ruled the several departments of the universe. An altar was erected under the open sky, wine was freely poured out, butter was thrown on the mounting flame ; and while the invocations were being recited and the flesh of the victim roasted, the unseen deities of the air were invited to come down and lick the blood, inhale the fumes of wine, and

taste the savoury smoke that ascended from the altar. No priestly caste was needed for such a simple ceremony ; and there is abundant evidence of sacrifices having been performed and invocations composed and uttered by the military chiefs who led their people out to the field of battle. Gradually, however, when the warlike instinct had begun to yield to the literary and religious, and the hymns were collected into liturgies, the art of sacrifice became much more highly developed than before. As time went on, it became more and more difficult, and at last impossible, for the king or his ministers to master the elaborate procedure which the Devas had now began to demand ; and as the slightest error in the performance was believed to be fatal to its efficacy, a class of men came into existence who made a special study of the prescribed rituals and transmitted such knowledge to their posterity. As Brahma (masculine) meant sacrificer in general, without any distinction of tribe or class, so (by the well-known rule of etymology with which every Sanscrit scholar is familiar), the word Bráhmaṇa meant the son or descendant of a Brahma, that is, one who had inherited a knowledge of the sacrificial art from his fathers and forefathers. This was the origin of the word Brahman, and in this way the nucleus of the Brahmanical caste was formed. Thus the Brahman is no exception to, but rather the strongest verification of, the theory now generally admitted by those who have studied Indian subjects, that function, and function only, was the foundation of Indian caste.

It is not surprising that an exclusive priestly caste should have thus been gradually formed, when we reflect on the extraordinary effects ascribed by the Hindus of that age to the power of sacrifice which Brahmans, and Brahmans only, could call into action. The sacrifice was the food of the gods, and as the gods were the powers of nature personified, it was the sacrifice which sustained the fabric of the universe. In the Atharva Veda, even the sacrificial ladies were said to support heaven and earth : "the Juhu has established the sky, the the Upabrit the atmosphere, and the Dhruva the stable earth" (Atharva Veda, xviii., 4, 5) ; and similar powers are ascribed to the sacrificial grass (*kusha*) and to the sacrificial cow (*Vasá*). The exclamation "Sváhá!" uttered by the priest as the *homa* offering was thrown on the fire, was converted into a goddess, and declared to be the wife of Agni, the consecrated flame of the altar. In a later production (Manu's Code) the sacrifice is said to "support the whole animal and vegetable world, since the oblation of clarified butter duly cast into the flame ascends in smoke to the sun ; from the sun, it falls in rain ; from rain comes vegetable food ; and from such food animals derive their subsistence" (Chapter iii., 76.) In a still later

production, the Bhagavat *Gita*, or divine song, the power of sacrifice is described in the following terms: "Prāṇapati of old created beings with their rites of sacrifice, and said:—Hereby shall you propagate yourselves; this shall be to you the cow of plenty. Sustain with this the gods, and the gods will sustain you; supporting each other in turn, you shall obtain the highest happiness. Fed with sacrifice, the gods shall give you the food that you desire. He that gives them nothing, and eats the food which they give, is a thief indeed. Good men, who eat the leavings of the sacrifice, are loosed from their guilt; but they that cook for themselves alone, and not for the gods, eat sin." It is no wonder, then, that the Brahman, through whom alone the sacrifice could be made to yield its promised fruits, was looked upon as a being possessed of superhuman powers, and as one who held the keys of life and death in his hands—that every one demanded his blessing as he passed—that his curse was believed to penetrate to endless distances in time and space—that "no greater crime" (to use the language of Manu, Chapter viii., 381) "was known on earth than the slaying of a Brahman"—that all other castes and classes were declared to have been made to protect or serve him—and that at the close of the long struggle for supremacy between the king and the priest, the latter was able at last to establish a theocracy more powerful and more lasting than any other that the world has yet witnessed. The final victory of the priest over the warrior was signalized in Indian legend by the slaughter of the whole Kshatriya race by Paśu Rama, the armed champion of the Brahmans.

The art of sacrifice received its highest development in the sacerdotal tracts or liturgies called *Brahmanas*, which were compiled by and for Brahmans as guides to the performance of the great sacrificial ceremonics. The three orders of priests, answering to the three Vedas and their respective Brahmans, were the Adhvaryu, who did the manual work connected with the sacrifice as prescribed in the Yajur Veda; the Udgátri, who chanted the sacrificial prayers collected in the Sáma Veda; and the Hotú, or followers of the Rig Veda, who recited, not chanted, the appointed prayers in strict accordance with the difficult rules of accentuation and pronunciation. The slightest error or omission in the performance required an expiatory rite—a principle observed, but to a less degree, in the monasteries of Europe at the present day, where a mistake in the singing of any part of the divine office entails upon the offender the ceremony of kneeling down before his superior, in a conspicuous place, as a form of penance or punishment. To prevent such mistakes and to superintend the other three orders of priests, a fourth order was established

with a fourth Veda (the Atharva), and this functionary was called the Brahman proper. Thus the name "Brahman" came to be considered the highest title of priest; and when the names of the other three orders died out with the disappearance of the Vedic sacrifices, it was the Brahman who gave his name to the entire fraternity. Thus in the code of Manu the only word used for a man of the sacerdotal caste is Brahman.

There was one more development in the signification of the word Brahman which must be noticed in passing. It was laid down in Manu's Code that a Brahman's life should be parcelled out into four distinct periods or stages: firstly, that of a religious student or Brahmachāri; secondly, that of a married householder or Grihastha; thirdly, that of a forest hermit or Banaprastha; fourthly, that of an ascetic or Sannyāsi. In the last two stages the recluse was directed to discontinue the sacrifices performed during the preceding period, and devote all his intellectual energies to the study of Brahma, the Supreme Spirit. The books in which these speculations have been recorded are called Upanishads, and these treatises close what is known to Hindus as *Sruti*, or the canon of Vedic revelation. Hence some native commentators have said that the Veda consists of two parts—one teaching Yagya, or the art of sacrifice, and the other Brahma, or the mystery of the creative spirit. Now "Brahma" (neuter), as we showed above, was one of the names for a sacrificial prayer. It is derived from the root *brih*, which signifies to grow, to expand. As a prayer offered in sacrifice was believed to transcend the bounds of space and support the whole animal and vegetable world, so in the speculations about the origin of the world the same word was used to signify the cosmic soul, the world-evolving spirit, the plastic power that causes all the changes and processes of nature, being itself causeless and unchangeable. The contemplation and study of this Supreme Spirit, Brahma, gave a higher meaning to the word Brahman than that of mere sacrificer: "Whoever looks for Brahmanhood elsewhere than in the Divine Spirit should be abandoned by the Brahmins," (quoted in Max Muller's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 23.) Elsewhere it is said that the visionary sage is alone the true Brahman: "Whatever kind of Brahman he may have before been, he becomes a veritable Brahman now" (*Gough's Upanishads*, p. 162). The following sloka is taken from a commentary on Manu's Code:—

*Tanmā jayate Sudrah, ṣaṇskāradd Dwijyo bhaved,
Vedapāṭhīr bhaved Bipro. Brahmāṇḍād Brahmanah.*

The meaning of which is, that by natural birth a man is merely a Sudra (that is, unregenerated and corrupt); by the ceremony of initiation he is regenerated and becomes a "twice-born"; by reading the Vedas he becomes a partial Brahman.

but only by a knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, Brahma, does he become a full Brahman.

Having thus briefly shown the origin of the word Brahman and described the function which first brought the caste into existence, we can now commence making the attempt, which we set before us at the outset, to describe the functions of the modern Brahman, a task which is rendered the more difficult since, so far as I know, no systematic account has ever before been given or attempted of the functions practised by Brahmans at the present day, though much has been done to describe those practised by the same order in Vedic or ancient times. The genealogy and sub-divisions of the Brahmanical tribes, so called, have been described in great detail by the late Mr. Sherring in *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i. He has shown how all Brahmans are supposed to have sprung from the seven great Rishis or sages of the Vedic age ; how 56 different *gotras*, or orders, are said to have sprung out of these sages ; how the said orders are classified according to the Veda (Rig, Sáma, Yajur, or Atharvan), which they are supposed to follow ; how Brahmans are further subdivided into *kuls* or clans ; and lastly, how the clans are subdivided into *shákhás* or branches. His account, which covers 113 pages, is made up chiefly of lists or proper names. As this subject has been so fully treated already, I propose to leave it altogether alone, and to confine myself to the object with which alone this paper is concerned—a description of the functions of the modern Brahman. I hold, too, that the elaborate genealogical scheme built upon these lines and accepted by Brahmans themselves, contains little, if any, historical truth, its very foundation—the seven sages—being mythical. Moreover, there are many sub-castes of Brahmans whose pedigree as Brahmans is said to be spurious, but whom it is necessary to include as members of the great Brahman fraternity, because they are regarded as such by the general Hindu community.

The following scheme shows how the Brahmans of the present day may be classified according to function. Some of these names represent separate castes or sub-castes—that is distinct social units—which never marry or give their daughters in marriage outside their own ranks ; others represent hereditary titles, which once probably were names of separate castes, but are no longer so at the present time ; others represent neither separate castes nor hereditary titles, but functions only :—

- Hotri—Sacrificer (*Brahmanas and Kalpa Sutras*).
Biduá—Consecrator of idols (*Karam Kand and Sáma Ved*).
Achárya—Superintendent of ceremonies (*Kalpa Sutras, Dharm Shastras, &c.*)
Dikshit—Initiator of the twice-born (*Karam Kand*).
Puthak—Private tutor of *ditta* (*Shastras or sciences*).

- B { Jyotishi—Astrologer (*Jyotish, astronomy and mathematics*).
Pauránik—Reciter of ancient histories (*Purans and epics*).
Puropit—Family priest (*Grihya Sutras and Kármá Kánd*).
Pánde—Village schoolmaster (*Vernacular dialects and Ganit*.)
- C { Ojha—Sorcerer—(*Tantras and Kalika Purána*).
Pandá—Temple priest (*Dash Káram*).
Gangaputra—River priest (*Dash Káram*).
Joshi—Fortune teller (*Shmudrika*).
Mahábráhman—Funeral priest (*Guru Purána*).

The plan upon which the above scheme of functions has been prepared is to begin with the ancient or Vedic Brahman, and thence make a gradual descent to those who are further removed from this standard, but are closely connected with the religious life of the present day. Against each kind of Brahman I have mentioned the names of some of the books with which his function is specially connected. But it must not be supposed that all or even most of the Brahmans concerned are really acquainted with their respective books or with any portion of them. Except in a few places of exceptional note, like Ayodhya, Benares, Mathura, &c., Sanscrit is becoming more and more obsolete in Upper India, and most of the Brahmans named under heading C are now totally illiterate.

HOTRI.—The Hotri is the only class of Brahman still left whose title and function recall the animal sacrifices of the Vedic age, and even this function is rapidly becoming obsolete in Upper India. The sacrifices of horses and cows, so famous in the Vedas and the great Hindu epics, are among the five things which have been declared unlawful in the *Kali yuga*, or present age of the world. This is distinctly laid down in the following sloka taken from Parásara's Code :—

*Aswamedham, garám lambhyam, sannyásyam, pala-paitrikam
Devarat sutot pattim, kahau pancha bibarjayet.*

" There are five things which a man should avoid in the *Kali yuga*—the horse sacrifice, the cow sacrifice, the ascetic stage of life, the flesh offering to the souls of the dead, and the raising of a son (to a deceased elder brother) from a younger brother." As the cow and the horse can no longer be used as victims, the modern Hotri is reduced to the less pretentious sacrifice of a goat ; and even when this is performed, it is seldom now done according to the Vedic rites and ceremonies. The last instance of a Vedic goat-sacrifice was performed in Benares about twenty-six years ago. The account which I have received of it is as follows :—

A certain Brahman from Southern India, who had inherited the charge of an eternal fire from a remote and distinguished ancestry, had through some inadvertence, for which he blamed himself, allowed the fire to go out. In order to relight it and

make a suitable atonement for the crime he had committed, he determined to celebrate a great sacrifice and collected from among all the Hindu Rajas, who could be induced to contribute, a sum of about Rs. 30,000 for the purpose. The ceremony lasted for twenty-one days. All this time Brahmans were being fed in thousands, offerings of *homa* were being thrown upon the altar, and *mantras* or sacred words were repeated with each offering. The goat intended for the sacrifice, which was to crown the work, was stalled in an enclosure set apart for the sacrificial floor; and the greatest attention, amounting almost to worship, was paid to it till the day of sacrifice came round. As the goat was being led up to the altar, its neck was garlanded with flowers, and red powder was showered on its head. The most learned and distinguished Brahmans who could be found were summoned from hundreds of miles round to take part in this Vedic sacrifice. The spot on which the goat was at last killed for the immolation, was screened off, so that no profane eyes might behold what the Brahmans were doing, or witness the relighting of the extinguished fire from the flame of the sacrifice. On receiving his fire relighted, the man was taken to the Ganges, to be bathed by the Achârya or presiding priest, and such was the sanctity ascribed to that part of the river where he had bathed, that almost the whole city of Benares turned out to get a drop or two thrown at them by the hands of the priest. It is said that no such sacrifice had been performed before within the memory of any man living, nor is it expected that such will ever be performed again.

The substance of the *homa* offering, which has given rise to the name of Hotri, is made of ghi, rice, barley, *til* or oilseed, raisins, cocoanut, &c, all mixed up together and pounded into a concrete mass. In large sacrifices, such as the above, or at times when some other religious ceremony is performed with more than usual solemnity and cost, many mounds of this sacrificial matter are collected, and priests succeed each other in turns, throwing driblets of it on the flame and reciting texts from the Vedas. At the time when the *homa* is thrown on the fire, twigs from certain trees or plants are thrown in with it,—viz., from the *pipal* or fig-tree, the *palasa*, the mangoe, the *satechu*, the *thorn* apple, the *kusha* grass, and the banyan. These six kinds of fuel are collectively called *samudh*.

There is one more function left to the Hotri which may be traced back to the Vedic age, viz. the recitation of long passages from the ancient hymn books. This is done at times when new temples are opened, or when large feasts are given to Brahmans, and sometimes in the private houses of rich men. A Hotri is sometimes employed by men, who are wealthy enough to engage his services, to stand before an idol and recite

extracts from the Vedas on their behalf. Such repetition is placed to the credit of the man who pays for it, and is believed to benefit his soul in the life beyond the grave.

BIDUÁ.—The Biduá is the class of priest specially employed to consecrate images, wells, tanks, and mango orchards. His name is derived from *vid*, “to know,” and appears to be a corruption of the word *vidya*, an ancient synonym for *Veda*. The point in common between the Biduá and the Hotri is, that both have the reputation of being acquainted with portions of the ancient Vedas, and hence the one is sometimes employed for the same purposes as the other. The original functions, however, are distinct. The Hotri performs, or professes to perform, what still remains of the old Vedic sacrifice, while the Biduá consecrates images and idols, to which the religion of the Vedic age was, in its earliest form, an entire stranger.

An image or any other symbol, such as a lingam, intended to represent the presence of a deity, is worth nothing more than the material it is made of, until it has undergone the process of consecration. The effect of this ceremony is to draw the deity down into the image or symbol, and to fix him there for ever, so that henceforth the image and the deity become virtually one; for “the Aryan brother” does not make the distinction between the visible symbol and the unseen divinity with which his admirers have sometimes credited him. The manner of the consecration is much the same for all Hindu deities alike, but the number of days spent on its performance depends upon the degree of dignity which the deity is supposed to possess. The idol or other symbol intended for consecration undergoes various forms of ablution. First, it is bathed in water taken from some sacred river, as the Ganges, the Narbada, the Sarju, &c., or any of these combined, if water from each can be procured. Then it is bathed in the *panchamritá*, or “five drinks of immortality,” *viz.*, milk, cream, melted butter, honey, and sugar dissolved in holy water, first in each of these liquids separately, and afterwards in the five combined. The image is then finally washed once more in sacred water. The niche in the wall, or the block in the middle of the temple, on which the image or symbol is made to stand, undergoes the same series of ablutions as that applied to the idol. When the idol and its standing place have been duly consecrated, the temple is *ipso facto* consecrated also.

Wells, tanks, and orchards are consecrated in much the same way as idols. No one is allowed to bathe in the tank, or drink water from the well, or eat of the fruit of the orchard, till the five waters of immortality have been thrown into them. It is chiefly in the case of wells or tanks, which have been constructed from motives of public benefaction, that these rites of consecration are performed.

An essential part of the ceremony in each case consists in feeding an assembly of Brahmins and in making a *homa* offering to the gods, similar to that already described in our account of the Hotri priest. At such times a vast number of deities or unseen guests are invited to attend—(1) the nine planets (including the sun and moon) called Navagrahá; (2) the twenty-seven lunar mansions called the Nakshatras; (3) the constellation of the seven Rishis or sages called Sapta Rishi; (4) the three-hundred and thirty-million deities who make up the vast pantheon of Hinduism; (5) the Pitrí or souls of departed ancestors, who make up another vast multitude as great as that of the gods; (6) the ten Digpals, who are said to preside over the ten points of the compass; and (7) the sacred rivers of India and of the celestial firmament. For each of these seven groups a separate place, and a separate dish, very small in amount, are assigned, and they are invited to come down and taste, or at least smell, the offering made to them. The smallness of the feast thus prepared for the immense multitude of gods and spirits presents a strange contrast to the ample viands placed before the small band of hungry Brahmins, each of whom is regaled with a flesh meal every day as long as the ceremony of consecration lasts.

ACHARYA.—The Achárya (or as the name is now commonly spelt, Acharya) is the highest kind of priest in modern India. His place in the religious ceremonies of the present day is similar to that once held by the Brahman proper in the celebration of the Vedic sacrifices. The special function of the Acharja is to guide and superintend the Hotri and the Biduá, and his name is derived from *áchára*, which means 'rule or direction.' If any great religious ceremony is to be held in which Hotris, Biduás, and others are required, there must be one man to preside and give the necessary directions, and this man is called Achárya. His supervision is specially needed during the constant repetition of the *homa* offerings, and the recitation of the appropriate Vedic texts. It is he, and he alone, who knows how to summon the hosts of divinities that are invited to partake of the offering, and how to send them back into the sky contented and propitiated.

There are very few Brahmins at the present day whose attainments in Sanscrit are sufficiently varied and accurate to enable them to discharge the office of Achárya. The highest title which can be given to a Brahman is to call him an Achárya, and this is the title which has been selected by the Educational Department, in these provinces, to be given to those students who pass the most difficult examination in the Benares Sanskrit College.

DIKSHIT.—The priest specially employed to initiate a

Hindu boy into the performance of his religious duties, and to give him "the second birth" is called a *Dikshit*. The word is simply a contraction of *Dikshitrī* or *Dikṣitā*, which signifies "one who initiates;" and hence it does not mean "initiated," as Mr. Sherring and others have supposed (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i, page 9). It is only boys of the upper castes (that is, those who are called the twice-born) who are entitled to the privilege of *dikshā*. But Brahmanism has, for the last thousand years and more, been steadily descending into lower and lower strata of the population, absorbing one indigenous tribe after another; and hence the possession of this privilege cannot now be considered a mark of "twice-born" ancestry.

The orthodox age for undergoing the rite of *diksha* or initiation is on the completion of the seventh year. The Hindu book of ceremonies known as *karam kānd* calls it the eighth, but the figure is raised to eight by counting the nine months preceding birth as an additional year. At the present day the orthodox age is not always observed, and a boy can be initiated a year or two later, if it suits the convenience of the parents to postpone incurring the expenditure which these rites entail. A boy, whatever his parentage may be, is not a full Hindu until the *dikshā* has been performed. Up till then he is little better than a Sudra or unregenerated person. But on and after that day he incurs the religious responsibilities to which his parents have all along intended to dedicate him, as a Christian boy does by the double rite of baptism and confirmation. Girls are never "initiated" as boys are; and thus a high-caste woman, who marries a man of the Sudra rank, cannot but become a Sudra herself. This, I suspect, is the real explanation of the abhorrence felt by Hindus to a woman being married into a caste lower than her own. The same abhorrence has never been felt to a twice-born man marrying or cohabiting with a Sudra woman; for the woman can rise to the rank of her husband; but as she has never been initiated, she cannot raise the husband to her own. Thus in Manu's Code a Brahman was allowed to take a Sudra woman into his house; but if a Sudra man married a Brahman woman, the son became a *Chandāl*—"a sinful and abominable wretch."

The entire ceremony of *diksha* lasts some eight or nine days. Throughout these days the boy is put upon a very strict diet, and undergoes a rigorous course of ablutions. He is bathed regularly at certain hours; after the bath mustard and oil are rubbed all over his body; and he then undergoes a second bath to wash them off again. All this time he should wear nothing day or night but a string made of the sacred grass called *fuska*, which is tied round

his waist, and to which a narrow cloth called *Angori* is attached, fastened between his legs before and behind. Meanwhile the usual *homa* offerings are thrown on consecrated fire by priests of the Hotri class who have been summoned for this purpose. When the last and greatest of the *homa* offerings has been made, the sacred thread (*upavit* or *janeo*) is thrown over the left shoulder of the boy by the Dikshit, and the first act of the ceremony of initiation is completed. The Dikshit then throws a cloth over his own and the boy's head, and under cover of this cloth he instils into his ears (in an undertone, so that no profane ears may catch what he says) the Gayatri and all the other sacred verses which a Hindu should utter on stated occasions every day of his life. The repetition of all these verses, and especially of the Gayatri, which is repeated first, constitutes the closing ceremony by which the boy is formally initiated into the rites of Hinduism. The boy must have heard and seen something of these rites beforehand through living with his parents; but until he has been formally initiated, and this by a Brahman competent to discharge the office, he is a mere heathen. For some weeks after the conclusion of the ceremony, the Dikshit remains with the novitiate, so as to help him to perform the several daily rites, and make him sufficiently perfect to be left to himself; and after leaving him, he continues to be his spiritual adviser for the rest of his life whenever such advice may be required.

There is no space to enter minutely into the rites which make up the daily religious life of a Hindu, and for the teaching of which the Dikshit priest is specially employed. Certain verses have to be repeated and certain ceremonies performed every day before eating, drinking, and sleeping. In fact, there is scarcely anything that a Hindu can do, but he finds the cloud or sunshine of his multifarious creed darkening or illuminating his path. The most important, perhaps, of the daily rites are the morning, evening, and midday oblations, which are collectively called the *Trikal Sandhyá*. Every morning in his life, a "twice born" or regenerated man should rise before sunrise and bathe. While the sun is still half visible above the horizon, he must re-enter the river or tank, and first throw up an offering of water with the palms of his hands (both palms being joined together) to the gods, the sages, and the souls of ancestors, and then make a final offering of water to the sun (*arka*). After making the offering to the sun, he must repeat the Gayatri one hundred and eight times. The same ceremony is performed, with very slight changes, at midday, and again in the evening. Each ceremony is called *Sandhya*, or the junction; sunrise and sunset being the hours when day and night meet, and midday the hour when the easterly sun meets the western.*

PATHAK.—Priests who devote themselves to the teaching of the young have been called Páthak or Upádhay, the former name being best known in Upper India and the latter in the Lower Provinces. Both words mean literally “teacher.”

The function of the Páthak or teacher begins where that of the Dikshit or initiator ends. In the old Hindu discipline, the life of a twice-born or initiated person was parcelled out, as we showed in a former paragraph, into four successive stages or *avasthás*. The first of these was that of student or Brahmacári, and this was spent under the care of the Páthak or Upádhay. The Páthak then was a very important functionary in the days when Hinduism was strong and the people accepted its teaching with unquestioning faith. It devolved upon him to train the character of the young after the Brahmanical model, and lay the foundations of a religious life. He instructed his pupils partly in the Vedas or religious poetry, but chiefly in the Shastras or so-called books of science. The office of Páthak, like that of almost every functionary in India, from the sweeper to the priest, is often hereditary among a certain circle of families. The sons of his constituents go to his house to receive daily instruction, and the sons of poorer Brahmins, who have no Páthak of their own, are allowed to attend with them. All tuition is nominally gratuitous. In fact, the Páthak is not only debarred from receiving monthly tuitional fees, but he is even expected to feed and maintain his pupils for nothing. They in return perform many kinds of menial offices for him, such as washing his feet, spreading his bed, drawing water from the well, driving his cows out to pasture, milking them when they come in, &c., nor do they disdain to eat the leavings which come from his table. There are two different ways in which a Páthak is maintained. Sometimes a Rája or other rich man provides him with land, the rent of which keeps him above want and enables him to feed his pupils. Such endowments are not uncommon at the present time in Upper India, and in some cases such lands are exempted from paying rent or tax to the British Government. Another way in which the Páthak is maintained is by donations called *guru dakshana*, which are given him by his wealthier pupils after they have completed their education and inherited their patrimonial estates. The custom is for the ex-pupil to go to his former teacher and ask him what he would like to have, and whatever the teacher may say, the ex-pupil is bound in honor to give.

The five kinds of functions described thus far, *viz.*, those of the Hotri, Biduá, Acharja, Dikshit, and Pathák, are the highest and most respected in which a Brahman can engage. It is only the “twice-born” classes or castes who have occasion to employ Brahmins for such purposes, and this is the main reason why

the functions corresponding are held in such high repute. The case is different, however, with the remaining functions which have yet to be described. These stand on a lower level than the preceding, because they are not unfrequently exercised on behalf of those castes or classes of the population which are below the rank of "twice-born." The principle of "condescending to men of low estate," which constitutes the ideal of the Christian and Buddhist creeds, is entirely alien to the spirit of Brahmanism, and was strictly prohibited by Brahman lawgivers themselves (see Manu's Code, chapter III, 65; and IV, 61, 81, 99). A Brahman who does anything to help or enlighten a low-caste man lowers himself by so doing, and the only motive that can lead him to commit such an impropriety is the fee which he is asked to accept. Nevertheless, the practice of officiating for low-caste men is constantly on the increase, and such Brahmans now make up the bulk of the Indian priesthood.

JYOTISHI—The Jyotishi is a Brahman specially versed in astrology. His function consists in interpreting the will of the stars to his clients. His name is derived from *jyotiṣh*, the Vedic name for astronomy, a science which formed one of the six Vedangas, or branches of Vedic exegesis.

The object, for which astronomy was studied in ancient India and which gave the first impulse to such studies, differed essentially from the uses to which such knowledge is now applied. Its sole purpose in the Vedic age was to fix the days and hours of the great periodic sacrifices. In India, as elsewhere, the earliest mode of measuring time was by the changes of the moon; and the asterisms lying in the moon's path were called Nakshatras or lunar mansions. Even in the earliest hymns these asterisms have not only received proper names, but have been personified, and are invoked as deities to grant progeny and other blessings to their worshippers. In the first book of the Rig Veda mention is made of the thirteenth or intercalary month, and in certain hymns of the Yajur Veda this month is invoked as a deity under the name of Anhasaspati. In the later epic poems, the Nakshatras are declared to be the wives of the moon-god, and the daughters of Daksha, one of the old names for the Creator. The Vedic name for astronomer was Nakshatra-darsa, "one who studied and observed the lunar mansions," and fixed thereby the dates of the periodic sacrifices.

The modern name for astronomer is *jyotishi*. After the old system of Vedic sacrifices had died out, the functions of the astronomer took an entirely different turn. He became an astrologer rather than an astronomer, and this is the only light in which he can be now regarded. The Nakshatras are still, as before, looked upon as divine persons. But a much greater degree of prominence has been given to the influence which

they are supposed to exercise on the events of human life. Every Hindu who is not an infidel (and total loss of caste is rare in Upper India, even among men educated in European schools) believes that his fate is written in the stars ; and as the moon and stars must inevitably run their courses, it is no wonder that Hindus are firm believers in fatalism. But to every evil influence which a star is expected to inflict, there is a *shudhi* or propitiatory ceremony attached, the object of which is to diminish, if not to avert, the calamity ; and it rests with the astrologer to find out what evil the stars are about to inflict and to apply the remedy. The consulting of the Nakshatras plays as important a part in the life of a Hindu as even the institution of caste, and nothing serious can be done or undertaken till the stars have been declared favourable.

After the birth of a child, the first thing that the father does is to go to the *jyotishi* and tell him, as exactly he can, the hour in which the child was born. The *jyotishi* then consults the stars and casts the horoscope, from which the fate in store for the child is determined. If the astrologer's forecast turns out to be wrong, and he is twitted by the parent for having proved a false prophet, the astrologer taxes him in return with not having told him the hour of birth correctly, a pretext which can be easily set up in a country where clocks and watches are not in common use. At times of sickness or any other calamity, the astrologer is consulted as to whether there is any evil star in the ascendant by which the calamity is caused. If the answer is in the affirmative (as of course it always is), the man seeking advice is told to make some offering in cash or kind in order to appease the hostile star ; and as the astrologer is the recognised exponent of the star's feelings and wishes, he appropriates, and is expected to appropriate, the propitiatory offering. Thus the offering made to the star becomes part of the astrologer's fee. Sometimes, if a man is applying for a situation or for a higher salary, or seeks to secure success in some particular undertaking, a bribe is offered to the star (through the astrologer with whom the star is in league) to help him to gain his end. Not being able to whip the stars, as some nations have whipped their frogs in order to hasten the fall of the tropical rains, they use the astrologer as the medium for bribing them.

For settling betrothals and for the performance of marriage ceremonies the services of the astrologer are indispensable. When the family barber or *Nai* has selected a boy whom he considers a suitable match for the daughter of his patron or employer, no contract can be made between the parents till the astrologer has been consulted as to whether the stars of the boy are or are not inimical to those of the girl. Nor is this even

enough. He must also find out what the castes of the boy and the girl were in their former state of existence. If both were of the same caste in this pre-existent state, the betrothal contract can be made, so long as the stars are not otherwise hostile. But if it turns out that the caste of the boy in a former state was below that of the girl, the betrothal is disallowed. Brahmans have framed all these rules entirely to their own advantage. A man, who was a Brahman in a former state, may marry any girl who in a former state belonged to some caste below his own; but the rule is never reversed. Some idea may be formed of the obstructions which can be thrown in the way of marriage amongst Hindus, when it is known that compatibility of caste in a former state of existence is only one out of the thirty-six conditions that must be complied with before a betrothal can be declared valid. The most enlightened Hindus of the present day are generally compelled to comply with these conditions, however much they may desire to discard them.

An auspicious day must be selected by the astrologer for almost everything that can happen in a man's or woman's life—for the day of marriage, for every part of the marriage ceremony, for starting on a journey, for putting the first plough to the soil, &c. A woman cannot put on a new set of bangles until she has learnt that the stars are favourable, and an orthodox man will not put on a new garment unless he is assured that the day is lucky for first wearing it. It is matter of history that when Ala-ud-din Khilji was marching upon Nadiya, the great centre of Brahmanism in Bengal, the Hindu Rája was ordered to wait for nine hours before marching out to meet him, because until then the stars were declared to be unfavourable. Meanwhile the Musalman forces entered the city, and the Rája had to flee for his life. On the other hand, there is a Hindu proverb to the effect, that necessity has no laws, even though the stars may be against it:—*Ghari men ghar jare, Arhái ghari bhadra*. That is, "if the house will catch fire in twenty-four minutes, an hour (hence, is an unlucky moment for action.)"

In the constitution of the Hindu township the astrologer is a most important functionary, and men of all castes, whatever their rank may be in the social scale, look to him for the interpretation of the stars in every domestic event or industrial undertaking. As the *jyotishi* does not confine himself to the "twice-born" castes, but is ready to read the stars for men of low estate, provided they can pay him, he has been one of the chief means by which the casteless tribes have been brought within the pale of Hinduism; and this process of absorption is continually going on before our eyes.

at the present day. The Hotri and Bidtri cannot recite Vedas, or perform the *homa* sacrifice, or consecrate idols, for any but the "twice-born" castes; and it is only in those families which have established an unquestionable title to the rank of twice-born that the Dikshit (initiator) or the Pâthak (private tutor) will consent to serve. But the astrologer does not refuse his services to any man whose fee he considers worth accepting; and among the various functions that come within the sphere of a modern Hindu priest, there is none that appeals more directly to the minds of ignorant and superstitious men. It seems, indeed, that belief in the influence of the stars upon human destiny has been one of the universal instincts of mankind; and the *jyotishi* comes armed with a reputation for mystic knowledge which, to the simple mind of the savage or low-caste man, is at once convincing. One of the first symptoms of a savage tribe becoming Hinduized, is that they have begun to consult the astrologer. The astrologer, then, has played, and is playing a very active part in drawing the indigenous or non-Brahmanized tribes within the net of Hinduism, and the intercourse which he is thus tempted to hold with the unregenerated masses has, as we have just shown, made his office appear less respectable in the eyes of other Brahmins. All castes, however, hold him in awe, and it is impossible to foresee the day which will witness their escape from this thraldom. Muhammadans have almost as much faith in his pretensions as Hindus.

PAURANIK.—The Pauránik, as his name implies, is one who makes it his calling to read aloud the Puráñas, or ancient histories so-called, in the presence of mixed audiences. Women as well as men attend such readings; but if they belong to the upper castes, they are screened off by a curtain. The manuscript, or sacred text from which the reading is made, is called a *poti* (a corruption from the Sanscrit *pustak*); for nothing so profane as a book bound in leather is used on such occasions. The *poti* is worshipped as a fetish. Before the reading is commenced, the man in whose house the entertainment is held bows before the *poti*, makes it an offering of rice, sandal-wood powder, flowers, &c., just as he would make before an idol; and if he is a man of approved piety, he repeats this offering every morning, so long as the reading lasts. Even the priest who reads receives something like divine homage; for his forehead is painted with sandal-wood powder and he is crowned, like an idol, with a chaplet of flowers. One or two hours are set apart every evening for the reading, and sometimes three months are spent before the *poti* is finished. At the close of the performance, every member of the audience presents an offering to the *poti*, as to a divinity or idol—an offering of cash,

or grain, or a piece of cloth, each giving according to his means. After these offerings have remained a little time in front of the *pots*, the Paurānik takes them up and appropriates them as his own fee—an arrangement which is recognised as perfectly correct and legitimate by the donors present. The reader is believed to impersonate, for the time being at least, not only the book, but the gods and demi-gods whose actions it records; and as neither the book nor the gods appropriate the offering, it is rightly made over to the priest who represents them.

It is chiefly in the rainy season, when there is less scope for occupation in the open air, that these readings are held. They take the same place in Hindu social life as that of the Sunday sermon or week-day lecture in Europe. No one but a Brahman can exercise this function. He may be a worse reader than a Kayasth or a Chatti or even a common Kahár, but this matters nothing. Spoken by a layman, the words lose their imputed sanctity. Spoken by a Brahman, they illuminate the soul of the listener, even if he understands little or nothing of their meaning. Pious men, who have the means, sometimes keep a Paurānik to read to them every day of the year.

There is one more fact deserving of notice in regard to the Paurānik before we part with him. Like the *jyotishi*, he has been and is largely instrumental in converting the indigenous tribes and ignorant classes of the population to Hinduism. To read anything sacred within the hearing of a Sudra, much more within that of an outcaste, is a practice against which Brahmans are cautioned in Manu's Code on pain of incurring the most terrific consequences in the future life. But when the Brahman begins to weigh the wants of the present life against the threats or promises of an uncertain future, he not unfrequently decides in favor of the former, and the terrors of hell have proved far less effective than the attractions of piety. It is seldom that a camp of Kanjais or Nats, or other casteless and wandering tribes, can remain for several months together on the same spot, but some Brahman finds them out and opens his Purāna and commences to read aloud before an ignorant and gaping audience. This is often the first step taken by an Indian savage towards entering within the fold of Hinduism. It is easy to conceive how in ancient times small roving bands of cattle-grazers, such as Ahirs, Gujars or Gaddis, and after-warrior-hunting bands of Pasis, Bhars, Arākhis, and many more, were thus caught as it were by the prowling Brahman, and detained in the outskirts of the village, till they became part of the regular inhabitants and, having abandoned their own tribes, formed the nucleus of what are now known as the lower castes.

It is thus that Kanjars, Doms, Tharus, Bawars, now being drawn within the net, from which, to those once caught, there is no escape.

• **PUROHIT.**—The office of Purohit or family priest was one of much distinction in ancient times ; but there is now very little dignity attaching to it. The name simply means "superintendent," "master of the ceremonies." It was one of the oldest names, probably older even than "Brahman," for a professional priest. For it was the custom of kings in the Vedic age to employ some man versed in the sacrificial art, to perform the sacrifices for them, and this functionary was called Purohit. The violent contests between Vasishtha and Visvamitra, two of the most distinguished priests of the Vedic age, for the post of professional priest in the court of king Sudás, show how much importance was attached to the office in those days.

The office of Purohit seems to have been hereditary from the first, and this is one of the reasons why it has become so insignificant in modern times. A man who is certain of his appointment and of being able to bequeath it to his son will not take the trouble to go through the severe course of training, to which Brahmans desirous of rising in their profession are ordinarily subjected, and hence the family priest became as lazy and illiterate as we now find him. In these days a purohit can seldom discharge any but the most petty offices for his master, such as presenting the daily offering to the family gods, or performing the usual rite when the first plough is put into the soil, or when the harvest is being brought in. On great occasions, such as the performance of a marriage ceremony, or the dedication of a temple, or the consultation of the stars, or the initiation of a son, the Achārya, or Biduá, or Jyotishi, or Dikshit are called in, although such offices would come well within the duties of a family priest, if he were competent to perform them. On these occasions, he renders what help he can under the guidance of the Achārya or other invited priest, particularly in doing the preparatory or (as we should call it) the "dirty" work. At the appointed season he assists his master in paying the annual offering (*sraddha*) to the souls of the dead. If his master has been keeping a fast, the purohit is ready enough to act the part of the Brahman, who, according to Hindu rules, must be first fed before the fast can be broken. If his master has a private shrine in his house, he acts as the temple priest, tending the lamps and sweeping the floor. If his master is seeking to get his daughter betrothed, he helps the barber to find out some suitable boy. If his master is taking a journey, the purohit sometimes goes with him to act as cook ; for no caste in India will refuse to take food cooked by a Brahman. If his master wishes to give a feast to Brahmans on some periodical or other festival, the

purohit invariably offers his services both as caterer and as consumer. At all religious ceremonies, should the master be unable to attend, the purohit can act as his proxy. He can go on a pilgrimage for his master to some distant shrine, fast for him at home, and even bathe for him in some sacred stream or tank.

Every orthodox Hindu is glad to keep a purohit if he can afford the cost, just as the Israelites of old esteemed themselves fortunate if they had a Levite on their establishment. Every reader will remember the story of Micah, who having met with a stray Levite said unto him, 'Dwell with me and be unto me a father and a priest,' and duly installed him in the office. Then said Micah—'Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing that I have a Levite to be my priest.' (*Judges*, xxvii, 13).

But the functions of purohit are not now limited, as they once were, to the twice-born castes. There are certain classes of Brahmans, calling themselves purohits, who have established priestly relations with the inferior tribes and castes, and visit them when the occasion arises, receiving gifts in return. There are, for example, Chamárwa Brahmans, and even Dom Brahmans, who give certain help to the tribes corresponding at times of marriage, &c. A savage, who has gone so far as to consult an astrologer or hear a Pauranik read to him, will generally go a step further, if he remains long enough in the same place, and attach himself to some Brahman who will act as his purohit or family priest whenever his services are required. When this stage has been reached, the captivity of the man is no longer a matter of doubt. Henceforth he becomes a Hindu, attends the great public festivals, bathes in the holy waters, visits the sacred shrines, and though he may not be allowed to enter a temple, he can employ the temple priest to place his offering on the idol. It is thus that the indigenous tribes of India have one after another been drawn into the net of Hinduism, until, in Upper India at least, there are scarcely any such tribes left to be Brahmanized.

PANDE.—The Pánde (like the Páthak or Upádhay described in the previous number) is a teacher of the young, but of a much lower stamp. The name is derived from *pandit*, science or knowledge; and hence Pandit has become the title of a Brahman deeply versed in Sanscrit. Perhaps, then, originally the functions of the Pánde were scarcely, if at all, inferior to those of the Páthak: but for some centuries past this has not been the case. The Pánde does not now teach Sanscrit, but only Hindi. His tuitional course is not merely religious, but secular also; for it includes the elementary arithmetic (*gant*) used in the native markets, and the quick running hand known as Kaithi. He is, in fact, "the village schoolmaster," and as

such held an important place in the ranks of the Hindu township. His school was less exclusive than that of the Páthak; for the latter received only twice-born pupils, most of whom were Brahmins; while the former did not refuse admission to boys below the rank of twice-born, provided these were not of castes whom it was a pollution to touch. The Sanscrit patshalas, which we now see around us, and which are becoming fewer every year, are the legacy of Páthaks, while the Hindi patshalas, which have survived in larger numbers, are the legacy of Pándes. The existence of these two classes of schools is the sole foundation for the exaggerated assertions made of late, that India possessed in former times a complete system of indigenous schools open to all classes of the community.

Men of the Kayasth caste have now acquired a large share of the function once monopolised by Pándes. Yet all such Kayasths are called *gurus* or spiritual guides, a title which, properly speaking, could be applied only to a Brahman.

No. II.

The five classes or castes of Brahmins whose functions have still to be described before the list is complete are—the sorceror, the temple priest, the river priest, the palmister, and the funeral priest. These hold a much lower status, in point of social precedence, than the nine kinds of functionaries described in the previous number. But this does not detract from the high estimation in which they are held by the low caste community, who make up at least 70 per cent of the total Hindu population.

OJHA.—The Ojha Brahman is one who is specially versed in the practice of spells and charms. Most of these rites are described in the books called *tantras*; and hence a Brahman who deals in them is sometimes called by the name of Tantrik, that is, wizard or sorcerer. It is difficult for outsiders to master the mysteries of Indian magic; for the interpretation of the *tantras* is more esoteric than that of any other branch of Sanscrit literature; and it is obviously to the interest of the sorcerer caste to keep their knowledge as much as possible to themselves. To this, more than to any other class of Brahman, the well-known couplet given below is applicable :—

*Devadhinam jagat sarvam, mantradhinascha devatah,
Temantrah Brahmanádhindah, tasmád Brahmano devata.*

“ The whole world is in the power of the gods, and the gods are in the power of magic; magic is in the power of the Brahman, and therefore the Brahman is himself the god : ”—A true description of a priest who professes to control the higher powers

by magical words and deeds, and to compel them to intercede in the affairs of men according to his own wishes.

The word *tautra* is of Sanscrit origin, and means "a string or system" of magical rites. But the name *Ojha* (by which the Brahman wizard is most commonly known) is derived from the word *ojh*, which signifies "entrail," and is of a purely indigenous or non-Sanscrit source—indicating, what is the fact, that the art of sorcery, though in a ruder and less cultivated form, is well known to those savage and casteless tribes of India, which are still outside the pale of Brahmanism, and that Brahmins themselves acquired the art from the aboriginal races. The aboriginal sorcerer is called *Ojhā* because he examines the entrails of the victim immediately after it has been slain, while the Brahman sorcerer does not. In spite of this, however, the name *Ojha* has fastened itself upon the Brahman also.

The office of sorcerer, within the Brahman caste at least, is strictly hereditary, and thus every man belonging to this class of Brahman is a potential wizard. Yet a severe and prolonged probation must be undergone before a man is considered competent to commence the practice of this art; for he cannot get the deity into his power by the mere right of hereditary claims. He must go through a course of *path* and *jap*, the former of which consists in reciting aloud, and the latter in silently repeating the name of the deity to be conquered a million times more or less, according to the nature of the spell to be acquired. Special hours are assigned for this performance, special postures of the body, special diet, and a specially appointed space, beyond which the probationer is not allowed to go until the process of initiation is finished. Special texts, too, are associated with special spells, and spells have been classified under four main headings, which are as follows:—

(1.) *Máran*, or putting a man to death.

(2.) *Uckhdran*, or getting him out of the way without killing him.

(3.) *Vashikaran*, or getting him into one's power so as to use him as a tool without his seeing or knowing it.

(4.) *Akárshan*, or drawing him towards you from a distance.

Under each of these main heads there is a variety of sub-headings which need not be here enumerated. Different deities are attached to different spells, and it is through the medium of the deity attached to each spell that the sorcerer is believed to work. All of these deities, however, are at bottom really one; for they are mere variations of Káli, the wife of Mahadev, and the dreaded goddess of death. In the Hindu pantheon there are ten main forms of this goddess besides several minor ones,

and these ten forms are known collectively by the name of *Dashmākāvidya*. Each separate form, however, is treated as a distinct personality. The average sorcerer contents himself with securing three or four only of these as his accomplices. But men of exceptionally high training or ambition, aim at acquiring a mastery over the entire group. Saraswati, the goddess of learning and wife of Brahmā the Creator, and Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and wife of Vishnu the Preserver, are sometimes invoked by the sorcerer in conjunction with Káli, the wife of Mahádev the Destroyer; but this is only done in cases where wisdom or wealth happen to be the objects specially sought for, and even then these benign goddesses lose something of their usual gentleness through being associated with such a hideous divinity as Káli. Those Hindus who worship the female powers (*Sakti*), to the neglect of the male triad known as Brahmā, Vishnu, and Mahádev, are called *Sáktyas*, and to such men the *tantras* are the favourite scriptures, and the *Ojha* or *Tantrik Brahman* is the favourite priest.

Brahmans of the *Ojha* caste are also called *Panchmakári*, because the conditions under which they perform their rites are expressed in five words, each of which begins with *m*: *madás*, or eating flesh; *madra*, or drinking wine; *mantra*, or repeating magical words; *mudrá* or putting the limbs and fingers in certain postures; and *maithun*, or the association of the wife with the husband. As the sole object of worship is a goddess, and as none but the female powers of creation are recognized by Brahmans of this class, the ceremonies are considered null and void, unless the wife of the priest takes part in them, and repeats in act and word everything that he himself does and says. If the priest happens to be far away from his house, or if for any reason his wife cannot accompany him, or if he happens to have no wife at the time when his services are wanted, he engages a prostitute and lives with her as her husband for such time as the ceremonies last. This arrangement answers the purpose equally well; for the efficacy of the ceremonies is not impaired, so long as some woman living in conjugal or *quasi-conjugal* union with the man takes part in it.

In some parts of India the female principle is worshipped not merely by name and with the help of symbols, but in the person of the woman herself, and at some of the temples of Káli, especially those in Assam and Bengal, promiscuous intercourse is said to form part of the orgies.

There is scarcely any reason to doubt that Brahmans of the *Tantrik* or *Ojha* caste are to a large extent descended from aboriginal priests, specimens of whom abound even at the present day among the indigenous and un-Brahmanized tribes of Upper India, such as Doms, Tharus, Kanjars, Nats,

&c. Even among these tribes the function of sorcerer has a tendency to become hereditary ; but when such tribes become converted to Hinduism, the hereditary principle, which Hinduism has so consistently enforced in every other case, would be openly avowed and confirmed, and thus the aboriginal priest would naturally rise to the status of Brahman. The Ojha Brahman is so utterly unlike the Brahman of Manu's Code in manners and character, and so very like the Ojha of the aboriginal tribes from whom he has borrowed his name, that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the one is descended from the other. Both lean upon the same goddess, Kālī ; both undergo a severe course of physical and mental discipline before she will consent to use them as the instruments of her power ; both indulge largely in flesh diet, in intoxicating liquor, and in free intercourse with women ; both shed the blood of animals before the idol which they worship ; both expel devils from the sick, or drive them into those who are whole ; both use magic, spells, and charms. The difference between them lies in the fact that the Brahman sorcerer has reduced his art to a written code or system (*ttuntra*), while the aboriginal sorcerer has remained a coarse and illiterate savage. But even among those practitioners, who from time immemorial have been credited with the name and rank of Brahman, and who are employed as such by the respectable castes of Hindus, there are some who are quite illiterate. Between these and the aboriginal priest no substantial difference exists.

Almost all Brahmans of the Maithil tribe (as distinct from those of the Sāraswat, Kanaujia, Jijhotiya, and Gaur tribes) practise the function of Ojha ; and it would seem that Bengal had no Brahmans of any other stamp until the time of Adhiswar, king of Gaur, who lived in A.D. 900 and invited (as the legend says) five distinguished priests from Kanyā Kubja (Kanauj) to enlighten his people and himself in the milder creed of Brahman and Vishnu. These five priests became the founders of the great Kanaujia families in Bengal, and introduced a new class of rights and tenets distinct from those of the Maithil Brahmans, who trace their origin to Mithila or Behar.

The late Mr. Sherring, after giving a brief account of the Ojha Brahmans of Benares (which, however, is more true of the aboriginal than of the Brahmanical sorcerer for whom it is intended) concludes with saying : "Formerly, the Ojha was always a Brahman, but his profession has become so profitable that sharp, clever, shrewd men in all the Hindu castes have taken to it." This is quite incorrect. It implies that Brahmans were the first inventors of sorcery in India, and that the art has since been filtrating downwards from them to the

castes immediately below, and from these again to castes still lower. The truth lies in the opposite direction, as we have already explained. Moreover, it is wrong to say that Ojhas can be found "in all the Hindu castes." They are only to be found in the very lowest—that is, in those backward and despised classes of the community, who represent the tribes of hunter, fisherman, &c. As these tribes were the last to be brought within the pale of Hindu castes, their Hinduism is still of the faintest possible type, and hence they have not yet altogether discarded men of their own tribes as priests or sorcerers. But as soon as a caste begins to rise in the social scale, that is, to make a nearer approach towards Hinduism proper, the aboriginal priest disappears, and Brahmans of the various orders and degrees take the entire superintendence of divine matters into their own hands. No such thing as an Ojha could be found or has ever been heard of among Chatris, Khattris, Kayasths or other castes holding an equally high status, nor among the agricultural and higher artisan castes who come immediately below them in rank. It would be almost, if not quite, as difficult to find an Ojha among the pastoral castes, such as Ahir, Gújar, &c., who rank immediately below the agricultural. The only castes then, who have retained their own sorcerers, and do not employ Brahmans for this purpose, are those which constitute the lowest stratum of the population, viz., the hunters, trappers, fishermen, scavengers, basket-makers, hide-skinners, &c., who are the least removed from primeval savagery and the furthest removed from the Hindu model.

No worship can be paid to Kali, the patron goddess of the Ojhas, without the shedding of blood. The animal now chiefly sacrificed by the low caste or aboriginal priest is the pig, that by the Ojha Brahman the goat. But the Tantrik sacrifice of the goat must not be confounded with the Vedic one described in the previous number under the name of Hotri. The ceremonies are totally different. There are, as is well known, two sets of *mantras* or sacred texts in Hinduism, one of which is called Vedic and the other Tantrik, and the latter only can be used in the goat sacrifice performed in honor of Káli. Moreover, the Vedic sacrifice can only be celebrated by Brahmans of the highest stamp (the Hotri and Acharya), who would disdain to associate with an Ojha, and only in honor of the older divinities of Hinduism, amongst whom Káli and her consort, Shiva, had no place.

The Kálika Purána, which is the chief authority for the rites to be paid to Káli, prescribes many kinds of animals besides the goat or pig, as fit to be sacrificed in her honor; and the list is such as to show the savage or non-Aryan origin of Káli herself: "birds, tortoises, crocodiles, hogs, goats, buffaloes,

guanas, porcupines, and the nine kinds of deer, yaks, black antelopes, cows, lions, fishes, the blood of one's body, and camels are the sacrificial animals." But the list of victims does not stop here. The same Purána breaks out into a rhapsody of delight on the merits of human blood :—" O man, through my good fortune, thou hast appeared as a victim ; therefore I salute thee, 'thou multiform, and of the form of a victim. Those, by gratifying Chandikâ, destroyest all evils incident to the giver. Thou, a victim, who appearest as a sacrifice meet for the Vaishnavi, hast my salutations. Victims were created by the Self-born Himself for sacrificial rites. I shall slaughter thee to-day, and slaughter at a sacrifice is no murder." The practice of sacrificing men or children to Káli was once widely practised by the Ojha Brahmans in all parts of Hindustan and Bengal, and perhaps even now it has not entirely died out. " Persons are not wanting," says Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, " who suspect that there are still nooks and corners in India where human victims are occasionally slaughtered for the gratification of the Devi ;" and he adds that " there is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not at one time or other shed her own blood under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation." (*Indo-Aryans*, vol. II., para. 111). The writer is here alluding to customs which prevail among Hindus of respectable castes ; but I have reason to think that the shedding of human blood has survived among the non-Hindu tribes also. In the course of the enquiries made by myself amongst the casteless tribes of Upper India, such as Kanjars and others, the hesitation with which answers were given respecting the kinds of victims offered to their tutelar goddess, Mari, Chandrika, Kalika, &c., all of whom are merely variations of the now Hinduized Káli, leads me to suspect that human sacrifices are still offered by the aboriginal priest in places where the act is not likely to be discovered.

PANDA —The Pandá is an inferior class of Bráhman, whose special function consists in taking charge of temples and assisting visitors to present their offerings to the shrine at which he presides. He might be simply defined as a temple-priest. The word *pandit* means science, and is the same as that from which Pande or schoolmaster and Pandit or learned man are derived. But the name Pandá as applied to temple-priests has now become a misnomer ; for all such men are totally illiterate—inferior in this respect to priests of the Ojha caste, amongst whom literary ability may not unfrequently be found, though here, too, it is decidedly on the wane. Temple-priests subsist for the most part on the offerings made to the idol at whose temple they preside. Such offerings may consist of money, grain, cloth, vegetables, fruits, live animals, such as

the goat, the horse, and even the elephant. All of these are appropriated by the temple-priest, who, in some cases, if his temple is much frequented, becomes very wealthy. The popularity of a temple depends, not on the degree of attention which the priest pays to it, but on its reputation for sanctity or antiquity, and on the rank of the god to whom it is dedicated. A Pandá who has amassed wealth through the offerings made at his temple, seldom remains there himself, but hires out some poorer Brahman to act as his proxy. If, however, he hears that some Rája or other rich man is about to visit the temple, he takes good care to be there himself and secure the largest share of the liberal offering or fee that is expected. Almost every Pandá has a distinct circle of clients living at various distances from his own house or temple, and sometimes at a distance of 100 miles or more. He endeavours to pay each of them a visit at intervals of one or two years, in expectation of the fee which clients so visited are accustomed to give. No Pandá is ever allowed to visit another Pandá's clients. Nor may the client himself pay his devotions to any temple other than that at which his own Pandá presides, unless it be to a temple dedicated to some other divinity.

The Pandá is not able, however, to appropriate all the offerings made at his temple to his own individual use. He is expected out of these offerings to keep the temple in repair, in case no pious layman comes forward to relieve him of the burden. He must in any case supply the clarified butter or oil with which in some temples an ever-burning lamp is fed, provide the daily offerings of cooked food with which the hunger of the idol is supposed to be satisfied, sweep out the interior of the temple, and provide the bell which he rings at the stated hour of worship.

Every temple in India, until it is deserted and offerings cease to be made to it, is furnished with an attendant priest. If the temple is attached to a private house and is not open to the public, the Purohit or family priest may discharge the necessary functions, or some Pandá may be appointed from without. In a public temple the Pandá first placed in charge by the founder acquires, through long custom, a prescriptive right to appropriate all the profits which he can make out of it, and to bequeath this right to his children and grand-children. So entirely is this right regarded as the private property of the priest who has acquired it, that he can use it as security for a loan, or sell it to any other Brahman, or to a Goshayen, or even to a layman; and the layman would in this case put some Brahman there as his servant to receive the profits which the temple may bring in to him.

The office of Pandá is not considered respectable by other Brahmans or by the upper castes of laymen. One reason of

this is, that the majority of the temples of which Pandás are in charge are dedicated to Mahadev ; and it is an old maxim amongst Hindus of the upper castes, that offerings made to the lingam (the figure by which the presence of Mahadev is symbolized) will bring evil to any one who receives them, though they will bring good to the giver. It is said that when Daksha's altar was overthrown by Mahadev, the former uttered a curse, that any offering paid to the lingam would prove an evil rather than a blessing to the priest who received it--a legend which corroborates the opinion now generally held, that Mahadev was an aboriginal god, whom Brahmans for that reason at first declined to honor, but whom they were afterwards compelled to admit as the third member of the Triad in consequence of the ever-increasing absorption of the aboriginal tribes. In the Vedic hymns, where the Aryan side of Hinduism is specially represented, Daksha appears as one of the numerous forms of the Creator, while Mahadev or Shiva is never once mentioned. It is only by the upper castes of Hindus that the Pandá is not respected : for the lower castes, who make up the great majority of the people, esteem him very highly as the mediator between themselves and their favourite divinity, Mahádev. Men whose caste is so low that they are not allowed to go inside a temple, employ the Pandá to place their offerings on the shrine.

The most celebrated of the shires in Upper India and elsewhere have distinct families of Pandás attached to them, and the local groups made up of such families, might truly be said to constitute separate castes ; for they marry only among themselves, and carefully exclude outsiders from participating in the privileges which they have secured. There are, for example, the Pandás of Gaya, who are called Gayawáls ; the priests of Mathura, who have taken the title of Chaube ; similar castes of Pandás at the great temples in Benares, at Vindhya-chal near Mirzapur, at Jwála Mukhi in the Kangra Valley, at the temple of Kali in Calcutta, at the temple of Kámákshi in Assam, at the celebrated temple of Mahádev in Golagokaran, and at the holy places of Ayodhya, the birth place of the deified Ráma.

One of the duties of the Pandá is to sacrifice goats to Káli—a function which he shares with the Ojha Brahman whom we described in the previous number.

GANGAPUTRA.—The Gangáputra or Ghátiya (for the two names are synonymous) might be called a river-priest. The former name means "son of the Ganges," and the latter "one who sits on the ghát or bank." His special function consists in helping pilgrims to bathe in some sacred stream or tank during the appointed periodical festivals. His rank among

Brahmans is about equal to that of Pandá, and their duties are very similar, except that the one presides at temples and the other at bathing-places. As the Pandá provides the oil and lamps required for the idol, and sometimes repairs the temple itself, and assists the visitor to present his offering, so the Gangaputra repairs the steps leading down to the sacred pool, spreads a carpet or mat for the bathers, and takes charge of their clothes and shoes till they come back out of the water. There are some Brahmans who combine the functions of river-priest and temple-priest in one. Such for example are the Chaubes of Mathura, the Gayawals of Buddha Gaya, the Prágwals of Allahabad, and others.

The Gangáputra, like the Pandá, is totally illiterate. The bather is supposed to have a *mantra* or sacred text recited over him by the priest as he descends into the water. But many of the priests cannot repeat even this. The pilgrim is generally satisfied, so long as he gets a dip into the holy water and pays a fee to the Brahman. By so doing he propitiates the water and washes away his sins. River-priests as a class are distinguished for their lazy and licentious mode of life; but this does not diminish their influence among the community at large. The pilgrim on arriving at the sacred pool is at once pounced upon by some priest who has been watching his approach, and is guided implicitly by what his guide tells him to do. The stairs leading down to the water are parcelled out in certain lots, each of which is claimed by some particular priest as his hereditary property; and if one priest is found poaching in another's preserves, the encroachment may lead to riot and even to bloodshed. The property in a *ghát* or bathing-stair can be given as a dowry, or sold, or mortgaged, or subdivided between brothers, and in short treated like any other kind of private property. Such property is even recognized in the Government courts; for both Pandás and Gangáputras appeal to these courts for redress, when they think that their rights are being encroached upon by rivals from among their own fraternity.

It is specially important in the eyes of orthodox Hindus to bathe in the Ganges or some other sacred river on days of eclipse; and it is at the same time especially degrading to Brahmans to accept fees or alms on days when the demon of darkness is abroad. But the Gangaputra has no scruples on this account, and this is an additional reason why he holds such a low rank among other Brahmins. On the eclipse of the moon, the most lucky part of the Ganges at which a person can bathe is Benares; and on the eclipses of the sun, Kuruksetra. The most appropriate kind of donation to be given on days of either eclipse is a cow; but those who are unable to afford such

a costly offering, give presents of grain, or cloth, or money. It is believed that anything given on a day of eclipse will be returned a hundredfold to the giver. Hence Hindus esteem themselves fortunate in having been provided with a priest of the Brahman order, who will accept of donations on such auspicious days.

Another function, for which the services of the Gangaputra are not unfrequently employed, consists in the assistance rendered to ignorant and illiterate men in making the annual offering to the souls of ancestors. An offering of water and of the cake or ball of rice called *pinda* is paid once a year in the month of Kuár (partly September and partly October) : this offering is repeated for fifteen days continuously, and is called *srddha*, while the days set apart for paying the offering are called *pitri-paksha*. The priest leads his clients into the water, shows them what to do, and utters the appropriate text, if he knows it, or invents one if he does not. Men who are educated do not seek his assistance ; but they do not withhold the customary fee for the privilege of using his gháṭ or bathing-stair.

JOSHI.—The Joshi is a caste of Brahman who professes the art of telling fortunes. The name is merely a contraction of Jyotishi, "astrologer." But his art, though somewhat akin to that of the astrologer, is not by any means the same ; though writers have been apt to confound them. For instance in the North-West Provinces Gazetteer, vol. viii., part ii., page 1, it is said : "Joshi is a class of Brahmans who follow astrology as a profession, and earn a subsistence by casting nativities." This is true not of the Joshi, but of the Jyotishi ; for the Joshi never casts nativities, and is not recognized by the general public as a professional astrologer. Again in the same Gazetteer, Vol. V. page 583, it is said that "the trade of the Jyotishi is fortune-telling or astrology. The planet Sanichar or Saturday is their favourite deity," &c. These remarks apply to the Joshi, but not to the Jyotishi ; for the Jyotishi is not under the patronage of the planet Saturn, whereas the Joshi is. The difference between the two men is this : the Jyotishi tells fortunes by the stars, while the Joshi does so by the lines and other marks on the palms of the hands, on the face, and on the body generally. The nearest term, then, to express the Joshi's art is palmistry, while the exact term expressive of the art of the Jyotishi is astrology.

Another mistake has sometimes been made in supposing that the Joshi is a mere migratory impostor of the gypsy stamp, having no historical foundation for the function which he affects to practise. This supposed analogy between the Joshi and the gypsy is entirely groundless. The art of,

palmistry is a very old one in India and has a literature of its own. The caste, too, has as good a pedigree as any other caste in India. Nor is the art of palmistry more absurd than that of astrology, although the latter is practised by Brahmins of a higher stamp. The old name for palmistry was Sāmudrika, and in ancient times one who specially devoted himself to its study was called Sāmudrikī. It was considered to be a collateral branch of the single science of Jyotish, and this is the reason why the caste is now called by the name of Joshi.

The Joshi of modern times has become totally illiterate ; yet he is generally to be seen with a manual of palmistry in his hand of which he knows nothing. The highest castes of Hindus refuse even at times to consider him a Brahman ; but he regards himself as one, and is so regarded by about eighty per cent. of the population. Moreover, he wears the sacred thread and has worn it from a remote ancestry : and he is by no means the only Brahman with whom other Brahmins refuse to associate. The fee which he receives for delivering his oracle (the wording of which, like those of Delphi, is always studiously ambiguous) is generally a supply of grain sufficient for one day's consumption. But if one of his clients happens to fall in with some stroke of good luck the Joshi at once pays him a visit, and attempts to convince him that it has occurred in fulfilment of his prediction, and demands a special fee for having proved such a wise and auspicious prophet. Every Joshi has a special circle of constituents, who live in villages surrounding his own at a distance of about ten or twelve miles, and no other Joshi is allowed to visit them. In the hill districts of Kumaon, where some of the old Hindu customs have retained something of their pristine vigour, the Joshi is more respected than he is in the plains ; and in Kumaun he is not so illiterate. In those districts many of the clerks in the Government offices are of the Joshi caste, and Pandit Mathura Dat, late head-master of the anglo-vernacular school of Jalaun, might be quoted as an example of a Joshi who has done credit to his fraternity. The name Bhanreiya or "gabbler" has been sometimes given to men of this caste, on account of the fluent readiness with which they read the fate of a person after examining his hands and face.

The art of the Joshi has (as was stated) a certain connection with astrology, and, so far as I can learn, the connection is as follows :—In the Hindu system of astronomy there are said to be nine planets, *viz.*, the five regular planets, the sun and moon, and the two demons of the eclipse. The collective name for these nine planets is Navagraha (*nava* meaning "nine" and *graha* "planet"). These planets, like the stars of the Junar zodiac, are believed to exercise an extraordinary influence

upon human destiny. Three are said to be auspicious and are called Subhagraha ; three others are said to be less auspicious and are called Pápagraha ; while the three last are said to be cruel or malignant and are called Krúragraha. The scheme stands thus :—

Suhhagraha	... { Gu·uwár ... Soinwár ... Sukrawár ...	... (Thursday, Jupiter.) ... (Monday, the Moon.) ... (Friday, Venus.)
Pápagraha	... { Bhaumwár ... Budhawár ... Adityawár (Itwar)	... (Tuesday, Mars.) ... (Wedpesday, Mercury.) ... (Sunday, the sun.)
Krúragraha	... { Shanaischar (Sanichar) Ráhu Ketu } ...	Saturday. ... Demons of the eclipse.

It is with the last three planets alone that the Joshi is in league. The offerings made to these malignant powers, and transmitted to them through their appointed priest, the Joshi, consist of oil, the black pulse called *urd*, pieces of iron, black cloth, &c. The colour black is the appropriate emblem of these deities of darkness, and oil for relieving the darkness is the appropriate offering. It is customary for the Joshi to receive such gifts on the Saturday.

MAHA BRAHMAN.—The last and lowest caste of Brahman is the funeral-priest, who in consequence of the aversion with which he is regarded by all classes of the community, is contemptuously termed Mahá-Brahman or Mahá-Patra “the great priest or the great vessel.” He is sometimes called the Karataka or Vulture Brahman, because priests of this caste flock like vultures round the carcasses of the dead. Nevertheless the function which the Mahá-Brahman performs, as will be seen below, is a very important one in the eyes of Hindus ; and the very highest castes, though they consider it a pollution to touch him, cannot dispense with his services. Such are the strange inconsistencies of the supernatural creeds : the Mahá-Brahman is indispensable for discharging the pious offices due to the dead, and yet he is loathed for the very reason that he performs them.

Amongst Hindus, as amongst all other people whose religious beliefs are in the savage or barbarous stage, the soul of the dead is supposed to suffer from hunger and thirst, and to need the same conveniences that it enjoyed in the body which it lately occupied. To this sentiment, for example, must be ascribed the atrocious rite of, *sáti* or the burning of the widow alive upon the pyre of her husband, so that she may accompany him to the world beyond. This rite has long been suppressed by the British Government ; but a series of less mischievous rites has survived, of which *sáti* was only one link in the chain.

On the day after a person has died the survivors hang an earthen vessel called *ghant* from a tree—a pipal tree, if one can be found. This vessel is replenished every morning and evening with water, and after sunset a small lamp, intended to give light to the departed soul, is placed on the top of it. A small hole is bored at the bottom, so that the water may trickle out to appease the thirst of the dead. The vessel continues to hang and to discharge water for ten, twelve, fifteen or thirty days, according to the rank of the caste to which the deceased belonged. When these days have expired, the Mahá-Bráhman goes to the tree where the vessel is hanging, and after breaking it in the presence of the chief mourner, is presented by him with every kind of thing that the departed soul is likely to require in the next life, such as tobacco, grain, clothes, carpets, pillows, bedsteads, shoes, walking-stick, the *hukka* or native pipe, cooking utensils, &c. If the deceased's survivors can bear the cost, they provide a new batch of all such articles, besides giving (as all must do, whether rich or poor) the old clothes, the old pillows, the bedstead, the cow or buffalo, the plough-cattle, the palanquin, &c., which the deceased was specially accustomed to use. If a Rája or rich man dies, the Mahá-Bráhman receives even his horse and elephant. The meaning of all this is, that the departed soul requires, or is believed to require, after death everything that he used during life, and that the Mahá-Bráhman is the medium through whom they are supposed to reach him. In every country but India such things are buried in the same tomb with the body; and it is chiefly through the contents found in the interiors of tombs that the arts and inventions known to the ancestors of mankind have been discovered by archaeologists. But in India no tombs are erected. The bodies of the dead are burnt, and the ashes are thrown in the rivers; while the Mahá-Bráhman acts the part of the tomb, being himself the living tomb which receives the gifts intended for the happiness of the dead. A better example could scarcely be quoted of the extent to which Brahmins have traded on the instincts natural to the human mind, and turned them entirely to their own advantage.

On the twelfth day immediately following the cremation of the corpse, one or more Mahá-Bráhmans are summoned to eat a banquet, and on the thirteenth day, after the funeral priests have been dismissed, Brahmins of other classes and orders are invited for the same purpose. Thus the feast to the dead, which in every other country is eaten by the kinsmen of the departed, is in India eaten by the priests.

The Mahá-Bráhman, as a class, is totally illiterate: he can seldom even repeat correctly the texts which are supposed to be uttered during the different stages of the ceremonial.

No. III.

We have now completed the long list of priestly functions exercised by Brahmans of the present day in Upper India. In order to bring together the results in a compendious form, and see what general remarks will be suggested by a review of them, it will be convenient to recapitulate the classification of functions, 14 in number, given in the first number of this series :—

- A { Ilotri,—Sacrificer according to Vedic rites :
Biduā,—Consecrator of idols, wells, groves, &c.
Achārya,—Superintendent of ceremonies connected with the above :
- Dikshīt,—Initiator into the ranks of the Twice-born :
Páthak,—Instructor of the Twice-born in sacred and secular science :
- B { Jyotishi,—Astrologer.
Pauránik,—Reciter of Ancient Histories.
Purohit,—Family priest.
Pánde,—Village Schoolmaster.
- C { Ojha,—Sorcerer and priest of Káli.
Pandá,—Temple priest.
Gangáputra,—River priest.
Joshi,—Palmister and Fortune-teller.
Maha Brahman,—Funeral priest.

All these have been described in regular order downwards, in the two previous numbers,—those in class A. holding the highest rank, those in B. the middle, and those in C. the lowest.

The reader must have been struck with the contrast between the complex developments of Brahmanism which are in force at the present day and the single function of sacrifice which marked its earlier career. But there is one common element which runs through all these various phases of the Brahmanical office. Except in the case of the schoolmaster, *viz.*, the Páthak and Pánde, (who were selected from among the Brahman caste merely because Brahmans alone were sufficiently educated and sufficiently sacred to be trusted with the training of the young), every variety of Brahman that has been described in the three previous numbers acts as mediator between man and the invisible world ; and to this extent every type of Hindu priest is on a par with the priests of other creeds. Thus, in Vedic times, the Hotri was the mediator between the sacrificer and the Devas or gods who personified the powers and processes of the physical universe. In modern times the Biduā is the medium between the founder of a temple and the deity whom he draws into the idol by the ceremony of consecration ; the Dikshīt between the boy whom he initiates and the gods to whose service he dedicates his coming youth and manhood ;

the Jyotishi between the man who consults him and the stars whose secret influence he interprets or controls by his mysterious wisdom ; the Paurānik between the man who listens to his recitals and the spirit presiding over the book from which he reads ; the Ojha between the man who is possessed with a devil and the death-goddess through whom the devil is to be expelled ; the Pandā between the man who brings an offering to the shrine and the deity at whose shrine the offering is made ; the Gangaputra between the man who bathes in the sacred pool and the spirit presiding over or residing within the water ; the Joshi between the terror-stricken suppliant and the demons of the eclipse ; the Mahā-Brahman between the living and the dead ; while the Purohit can mediate for his employer in almost any capacity, even to the extent of bathing or fasting for him. Thus the Brahman is a true priest, in whatever direction, except that of schoolmaster, his speciality has been developed : and even when he acts as schoolmaster, he does not resign his position as priest or messenger of men to the unseen world. That this is the light in which the laymen of all classes regard him is clear from the fact that, in whatever capacity he may be employed at the present day, he is still invariably called *yāckak* or sacrificer, while the man for whom he officiates is called *yajamān*, or the man who pays for the sacrifice. Thus the astrologer, the sorcerer, the river-priest, &c., &c., are at bottom priests of the sacrifice—messengers through whom the oblations of man are transmitted to the unseen gods or to departed souls.

There is one very peculiar rite by means of which the Brahman is used by all classes of Hindus as messenger between gods and men. This consists in making him eat a banquet at the expense of his client,—a ceremony, which so far as I know, is confined to the Indian priesthood and is altogether unknown in other countries. In the ancient or Vedic age, the element on which the flesh and butter of the sacrifice were thrown, was fire. But the *Smritis*, or books of canon law, (of which Brahmins were, of course, the authors), are never weary of telling us that the Brahman himself is “the flame of the sacrificial mouth,” and that if the leavings, that is, the solid parts, of the sacrifice go to any but Brahmins, “the offering is not made to gods (Devas), but to devils (Asuras).” Thus the Brahman is a consuming fire ; and provided he eats at any one’s expense but his own, he is one of the chief means by which, at the present day, men of other castes transmit their offerings to the higher powers. So whenever a man wishes to perform some expiatory rite, or to invoke the divine favour upon some new undertaking, or to signalize some important event in his own life, such as a birth, a marriage, or a funeral, he invariably

invites a horde of Brahmans to a banquet. It is not at all essential to the efficacy of such banquets that the Brahmans who are fed should be men of cultivated minds or versed in sacred science or in the practice of priestly offices. Whatever his training or mode of life may be, he is by birth an impersonation of the deity, a messenger between gods and men. "Whether literate or illiterate," says Krisana in the *Bhagavad Gita*, "a Brahman is my own body." To feed a Brahman, therefore, is to feed Krishna or the divine being himself. The object of all sacrifice in the Vedic age was to feed the gods. But as the slaying of animals to any deity except Kali is now practically extinct, the rite of feeding the gods by feeding Brahmans has succeeded to its place.

After all that has been written in the preceding numbers about the functions, which in ancient as well as in recent times have been the peculiarities of the Brahman caste, it may cause some surprise to the reader to be told that the most honorable state in which a Brahman can exist is to live as much as possible for himself and exercise no functions at all for the outside community. Such, however, is the ideal set forth in Manu's Code, and such is the ideal recognized at the present day.

There are several considerations which commend this view of a Brahman's status to the minds of Hindus. As there is no caste above that of Brahman which can perform religious rites on his behalf, such as he himself is able to perform for others, any time that may be spent on ministering to the wants of others represents a loss of grace and opportunity to himself, and he suffers in holiness and purity accordingly. Again, there is nothing so degrading to a Brahman as service. Devotion to the good of others is a sentiment entirely alien to the spirit of his creed; for it is a fundamental maxim of the Brahmanical codes to believe that all other races were created to serve himself. But whenever a Brahman undertakes to discharge some priestly function for another, he becomes for the time being the servant of the man who employs him. The Purohit, for example, is the servant of his master for life, and this is one of the chief reasons why the office of hereditary family-priest is considered so degrading. Again, it is impossible for any one who desires to propitiate some deity to do this without presenting an offering in cash or kind; and this offering is appropriated by the Brahman, who receives it on behalf of the deity, being himself an impersonation of the divine being. But, in spite of all theories to the contrary, the constant accepting of gifts has a mercenary look, and the receiver loses in dignity as much as the giver gains in grace. The highest status, then, in which a Brahman can live, is to

stand entirely aloof from the outside world, to be a priest only to himself and family, to lead the model life made up of the daily routine of offerings and ablutions prescribed by the rules of his order, and, when his sons are grown up and married, to retire into a hermitage and meditate till the day of his death on the mystery of Brahma, the Supreme Spirit.

There are but few Brahmins, however, who can dispense with the emoluments of their calling : and as there was a never-ceasing demand among the general community for religious direction of all kinds, which only a Brahman could give, the author of Manu's Code was generous enough to lay down the rule that there are six *karmas* or works in which the Brahmanical caste may lawfully engage, while to every other twice-born caste there are only three :—

- (1) To study the Vedas ; *pátham*.
- (2) To teach the Vedas ; *páthan*.
- (3) To offer sacrifice ; *yajan*.
- (4) To help others to sacrifice ; *yájan*.
- (5) To give alms ; *dána*.
- (6) To receive alms or fees ; *pratigraha*.

The three duties which any twice-born man may share with the Brahman are the first, third, and fifth. The three which only a Brahman, and no other caste, may perform are the second, fourth, and sixth ; and he is not allowed to perform any of these, unless he is in want of the necessaries of life. Mr. Sherring makes the curious mistake of saying that "only those Brahmins who perform all these six duties are reckoned perfectly orthodox. Some perform three of them, *viz.*, the first, third, and fifth, and omit the other three ; yet they suffer in rank in consequence." (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I., page 10). Such a statement is directly opposed not only to existing facts but to Manu's Code (X, 103) which runs thus : "From teaching the Veda, from officiating at sacrifices, or from taking presents, though these things are generally disapproved, no sin is committed by priests in distress ; for they are as pure as fire or water."

The reader need scarcely be reminded that in the description which we have given of the several functions open to the modern Brahman, we have merely considered him as a priest, and taken no account of the fact that many members of the caste are in practice mere laymen, who discharge no priestly functions whatever. Out of the total number of Brahmins recorded in the census of 1881, *viz.*, 4,690,850, the number of males, that is, of potential priests or Levites, is given as 2,443,040. Turning to the details of occupation given in the same census, we find that only 81,318 persons are set down as "Hindu priests." If to these we add 509 more, who, in

another place are shown as astrologers under the rather misleading title of "scientific persons," we get a total of 81,827. According to this the proportion of actual priests to the total number of potential ones would be less than 4 per cent. But this is probably too small to be correct. So far as I can learn from persons likely to be well informed on the subject, Brahmins of the present day might be subdivided as follows :—

- (a.) Those who live exclusively by the practice of religious functions ; about fifteen per cent.
- (b.) Those who live partially by such functions, but follow various secular callings in addition ; about twenty-five per cent.
- (c.) Those who, without performing any of the priestly offices implied in the above, might yet be asked to sit down to a banquet and eat at another's expense ; (for even this must be accounted a priestly function in India) : these make up some twenty per cent more.
- (d.) Those who perform no priestly office whatever, not even that of eating : these make up the remaining forty per cent.

According to Manu's Code the state of life most becoming to a Brahman was, as we have shewn, to be a man of independent means and do nothing but live for himself and for his own soul. But if he was poor, he might earn a subsistence by "assisting to sacrifice, teaching the Vedas, and receiving gifts from a pure-handed giver" (X, 76). But supposing even these did not suffice, "he might live by the duty of a soldier, for that is next in rank" (X, 81) ; or if this failed, "he might subsist as a mercantile man, applying himself to tillage or attendance on cattle," (X, 82). But he might never plough the field with his own hand ; for the "iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it" (X, 84). Nor might he ever take up secular work for hire as the servant of another, "for this is *swavrittī* or dog-living" (IV, 6).

With the exception of the last, each of the above rules is observed for the most part at the present day. There are certain clans or classes of Brahmins, the Pānde for example, which are distinguished for their military propensities ; and the same may be said of almost all the Brahmins, of whatever class, living in the Baiswara districts of Oudh. Commerce, too, is a favourite occupation of the caste : and there are few, if any, forms of trade in which a Brahman will not engage. Many follow the occupation of milk-man and cattle-grazer ; and as the cow is a sacred animal, this is not uncongenial to the instincts of the caste. If Brahmins take to agriculture, as many do, in the capacity of either landlord or tenant,

they will, in some few districts, chiefly in those to the south of the Ganges, plough with their own hands; but elsewhere they employ Chamárs, Koris, or Ahirs to do this for them, for they still cherish the tradition that ploughing is forbidden to the caste. As to the "dog-living" or working for hire, all scruple against such a practice appears to have completely died out. Brahmans may now be found in any and every kind of occupation for which wages are paid, except those which would entail ceremonial pollution and consequent loss of caste, such as that of sweeper or washerman. They will act as water-carriers, cooks, cart-drivers, night-watchmen, field-watchmen, messengers, policemen, public singers, dancers, wrestlers, &c. Latterly, too, they have taken largely to thieving and other forms of crime. Grasping and lazy by long hereditary instinct, and not being so liberally supported by the outside community as they consider that they ought to be, they have begun to resort to force; and in Oudh, at least, they are now one of the chief criminal classes, ranking in this capacity scarcely, if at all, below the degraded caste of Pasi, who are thieves and robbers by profession.

In spite of all this, every Brahman, even the lowest, is still called Maharaj, or great king. Every other caste still looks to him for his blessing as he passes. The coarsest features, the most abject ignorance, and the most menial occupation do not cancel the fact, that in the eyes of the Hindu community he impersonates Brahma, the Supreme Being, and is entitled as such to the homage of mankind. A wretched Brahman once complained to me of the hardness of his lot, that "the God had descended in him in vain."

There is one tribe of secularized Brahmans whose hereditary occupation is of such a peculiar nature that we must give it a passing notice. These are the Sanauriyas of Bundelkhand, a tribe which claims affinity with the great Sanadhyā stock, whose chief habitat is the plain between the Ganges and the Jumna. The hereditary function, if it can be called so, of Brahmans of the Sanauriya tribe is thieving, but only by daylight. They make no secret of the fact that thieving is the main industry by which they live, and they justify it to their consciences, (such is the elasticity of this much vaunted faculty), on quasi-religious grounds. They quote a legend which shews that this was the lot assigned to them by Ram Chandra of Ayudhya, the greatest of the incarnations of Vishnu. There is a Hindu proverb to the effect that a theft by a Brahman is a gain rather than a loss to the person robbed:—

Girpure Ganga; Churai Khai Bamhan.

The meaning of which is, that property stolen and eaten by

a Brahman should be no more regretted than property which has fallen into the Ganges. To eat at another's expense is, as we have shown, a priestly function in India. To give what is eaten voluntarily is of course more meritorious than to have it taken from you by stealth ; but to be robbed by one who impersonates the deity is much better than to be robbed by any one else. The Sanauriya throws an odour of sanctity over the act by the rule of robbing only in daylight, a rule so jealously observed by the caste, that any infringement of it would entail dismissal from the fraternity. Night is associated in the minds of men with the commission of evil deeds, and the Sanauriya by performing the daily *argh* or oblation of water to the Sun-god, and by repeating the Gayatri as other Brahmans do, secures, as he thinks, the countenance of the Sun-god to the predatory life to which he has been devoted from time immemorial.

The goddess who is believed to preside over the peculiar craft of this caste is Káli or Kálíka. In order to escape detection they have invented a thieves' Latin and a gesture language, with which however the police authorities are now beginning to be familiar. They carry their thievish expeditions sometimes as far as to Malabar, Bombay, or the Madras coast, leaving their wives to till the fields in their absence. The person by whom the theft is actually committed is generally a boy under twelve or fourteen years of age ; and such boys are taken regularly into training by the men, who teach them the sleight-of-hand necessary to the difficult art of stealing in broad daylight, and organize all their movements on march.

The Sanauriya is a strict Brahman. He renews his sacred thread annually, as other Brahmans do, in the ceremony called Rakshabandan ; he is a total abstainer from flesh and wine ; never destroys life in any form ; observes the same ceremonies connected with births, marriages, and deaths that other Brahmans do ; worships the cow and the serpent : and when he is sick, employs none but Brahman sorcerers to expel the evil spirit from his body. Wherever he meets a man not of the Brahman caste, he pronounces the usual *āshirbād* or blessing, and receives back the usual salutation of Maharaj, or great king, although he is known by every one to be a professional thief.

There is one other eccentric kind of Brahman, who deserves to be noticed before we conclude this article. If, as we have just shewn, there is a Brahmanical tribe which has avowedly taken to thieving as its hereditary calling, there are others who have adopted the still more extraordinary course of embracing the creed of Islam, though still retaining the tradition of their Brahmanical descent, and receiving gifts from Hindus as

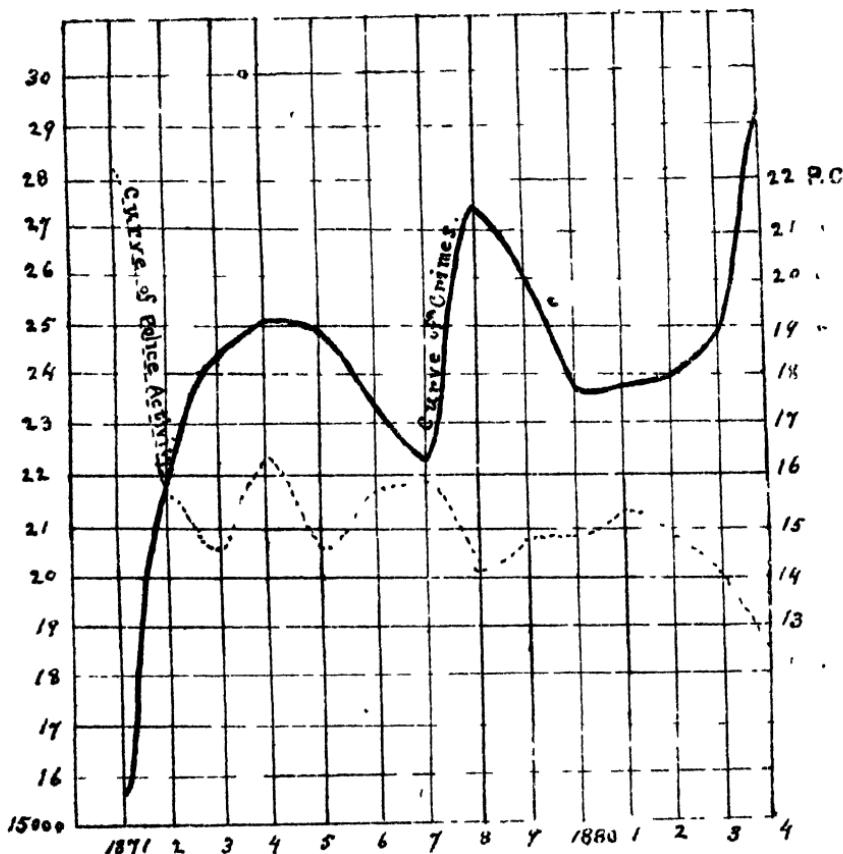
Brahmans. These are known in the districts about Delhi as Haseni Brahmins ; and they receive oblations in the name of Shiv or Parameshwar from Hindus, and in the name of Allah from Mohammedans. Another kind of semi-Mohammedan, semi-Brahman priest is to be found at the tombs of saints, to which Hindus and Muhammedans alike go to pay their offerings. For example, I have seen the shrine at Kachauchlia, in the Fyzabad district, where Makhdum Sahib, a Muhammedan saint was buried ; but it is certified by local tradition that this was once a Hindu temple presided over by Kamal Pandit, whose soul is still worshipped there in communion with that of the Mussalmân Makhdum. Pilgrims of either sex go there to be cured of blindness, lameness, childlessness, and the various types of disease which are ascribed, by Hindus and Muhammedans alike, to demoniacal possession. The priests who are in charge of this shrine, and who receive the offerings presented by the visitors, are said to be descended from those Brahmins who were owners of the temple before it became the shrine of a Muhammedan saint. Other instances might be named. Such men constitute a kind of caste of their own ; for their office is hereditary, and they take presents from Hindus as well as Muhammedans. Both of these peculiarities favour the supposition of their Brahmanical origin : for there is no such thing as an hereditary priesthood amongst Muhammedans ; and the custom of feeding or feeding temple priests, in the hope of propitiating the god or saint who resides at the shrine, is peculiarly Hindu in character.

From the account which we have now given of the several gradations and varieties of Brahmins, commencing from the ancient or Vedic time, when the Brahman was the intellectual giant of his age, and coming gradually down to modern times, when the illiterate magician, palmister, and funeral-priest are seeking for pice, and almost begging their bread among low and semi-savage tribes with whom a Brahman of the old type would have disdained to be associated as priest, and when some members of the order have even stooped so low as to accept the creed of Islam and receive gifts in the name of the Muhammedan god,—we cannot avoid the conclusion that the days of Brahmanism, as a healthy and progressive creed, are past, and past beyond recovery. The Brahman has lived his day. His reputation as the leader and guide of his countrymen, (for this is the position that he once held), is steadily, if not rapidly, declining among all the best classes of the Hindu community in this part of India. The shock, which his influence has received within the last century from the silent, unpremeditated inroads of Western science and manners, is far more deadly than any blows inflicted on him in previous centuries from the avowed

hostility of Islam or the violent persecutions of an Aurangzeb. At times, indeed, he appears even now to be waking up into new life. The present century has witnessed the building of many new temples at Benares, Ayodhya, and other places sacred to old Indian tradition : and there has been a proposal of late years among certain influential Hindus of Upper India, to establish a college, in which the Hindu religion shall be taught simultaneously with a course of Western science. But these temporary fits of activity must not be taken to signify a permanent or even a passing recovery of youth. They are the mere sallies of decrepitude, the last efforts made by the departing priest before he finally passes away from the scene of his labours, like 'the nerveless shaft hurled by the aged Priam against a resistless foe among the crackling ruins of his own citadel.'

JOHN C. NESFIELD.

Table showing the increase of "Serious Crimes," and the decrease of Police Efficiency in Bengal, during the 14 years, from 1871 to 1884, (Vide p. 305)



The thick black curved line represents the fluctuations of Crime in different years, the ordinate representing number of crimes in thousands, and the abscissa the different years.

The dotted curved line represents the activity of Police in securing convictions, the ordinate representing the percentage of convictions.

ART. V—FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN INDIA—BENGAL.

II.*

Police.

In the opinion of some writers, India never before the advent of British Rule enjoyed internal peace and security. "The English" says Dr. (now Sir William) Hunter, "found no police in India to cope with the great evil of gang-robbery. Each village had its watchman, but the village watchman would have been powerless against the robber-gangs, and so he entered into league with them. For a time the East India Company's troops were constantly engaged against the banditti. . . . Such lawlessness was the normal condition of all India for a full half-century, and in some Provinces, for many centuries before the advent of British Rule."† This is the opinion of a writer living long (more than a hundred years) after the events described by him. A different account of pre-English India, however, is to be found in the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed at the commencement of the present century, to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company.

"On a consideration of the information obtained," say the Committee, "it appears that, although great disorder prevailed in the internal administration of the Provinces on the Company's accession to the Dewanny, a regular system of Government had subsisted, under the most intelligent and powerful of the Mogul Governments, in which the rights and privileges of the different orders of the people were acknowledged and secured by institutions derived from the Hindus, which, while faithfully and vigorously administered, seemed calculated to promote the prosperity of the natives, and to secure a due realization of the revenues of the State."‡

What then was this "regular system of Government," which, "while faithfully and vigorously administered," promoted the

* The first number of this Series, which is on "Civil Justice," will be found in the "Calcutta Review," January, 1887, page 111.

† England's Work in India. p. 15

‡ The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company. Vol. I, p. 17. (Madras Edition.)

prosperity of the natives? The answer to this question is also to be found, as follows, in the Select Committee's Report :—

" From the description which has been given of a zemindary under the Native Government, it will appear that, aided by numbers of inferior officers maintained in the different villages, the zemindar must have possessed considerable power within his limits, more especially when his zemindary was of great extent. It has also been noticed that the Asiatic Governments inclined to the establishment of individual authorities in gradation, from the Sovereign downwards to the village Mockuddum or Mundal. It was consistent with this principle that the zemindar exercised the chief authority, and was entrusted with the charge of maintaining the peace of his district or zemindary. In his official engagement, he became bound to apprehend murderers, robbers house-breakers, and generally all disturbers of the public peace. If he failed in reproducing the robber, or the thing stolen, he was answerable to the injured person for the amount of the loss. If the zemindary was farmed, the farmer who possessed the authority, incurred the same responsibility : and when committed to the charge of an officer on the part of the Government, the same responsibility, and the means of supporting it, devolved on that officer. The means thus provided were ample for maintaining the peace ; and when properly directed could not fail of efficiency, from the great number of individuals who might at any time be called forth in defence and for the security of the inhabitants, consisting, not only of the pausbauns or village watchmen, whose special duty it was to be always in readiness for that purpose, but all those likewise over whom the zemindary authority extended."*

Some idea of the strength of the Zemindary Police, which was broken up at the Settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, may be gathered from the following account of the Police arrangements that existed under the Zemindar (Maharajah) of Burdwan :—

" Besides the usual establishments of guards and village watchmen maintained for the express purpose of police, the zemindar had, under the former system, the aid of zemindary servants, who were at all times liable to be called forth for the preservation of the public peace, and the apprehension of the disturbers of it. The officers employed in the collection of the *sayer* or import duties before the abolition of them, and stationed at the *gunges*, or commercial depôts of grain, in the

* The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company. Vol. I. p. 55. (Madras Edition.)

bazars or markets, and at the *hauts* or fairs, possessed authority, and officiated for the preservation of peace and the protection of the inhabitants and frequenters of those places. To convey an idea of the means possessed by a principal landholder for the purposes above mentioned, it may be sufficient to notice the case of the zemindar of Burdwan: This zemindary; on a rough estimate, may be taken at 73 miles long and 45 broad, comprehending about 3,280 square miles; nearly the whole of which was in the highest state of cultivation, and well stocked with inhabitants. His police establishment, as described in a letter from the Magistrate, of the 12th October 1788, consisted of *thannadars* acting as chiefs of police divisions, and guardians of the peace; under whose orders were stationed in the different villages, for the protection of the inhabitants, and to convey information to the *thannadars*, about 2,400 *pykes*, or armed constables. But exclusive of these guards, who were for the express purpose of police, the principal dependance for the protection of the people probably rested on the zemindary *pykes*; for these are stated by the Magistrate to have been in number *no less than nineteen thousand*, who were at all times liable to be called out in aid of the police.*

At the Settlement of 1793, however, the police powers of the zemindars were withdrawn, and their *pykes* disbanded on the ground that they had abused the authority entrusted to them. The country was divided into police jurisdictions of about 400 square miles each, guarded by *darogahs* with establishments under them of armed men, varying in number from 15 to 20, selected and appointed by the Magistrate of the district. But this strength of police was insufficient for the protection of the inhabitants. And as the disbanded *pykes* took to robbery, and the *darogahs* were not less corrupt than their predecessors—the *thannadars*—the consequence was that the country was infested by dacoits who, as we are told by Dr. Hunter, for a time baffled all the efforts of Government to put them down. An attempt was, therefore, made in 1807, to partially restore the old system, by calling into requisition the agency of the landholders. But “the situation of things had so much changed since the zemindars were deprived of the authority thus restored to them” that the measure did not prove a success. “The dismemberment of the principal zemindaries, by the sale of land to realize arrears of revenue, and the separation of talooks, or small estates, had reduced the efficient influence of the landholders, who, for the greater part, approached nearer then, than they did formerly, to the condition of mere cultivators. The

* The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. Vol. I, p. 91. (Madras Edition.)

dismissal of the zemindary *pykés*, and of the establishment formerly maintained for the collection of the *sayer* duties, also contributed to the same end.”*

So, we read in a letter dated the 29th May 1810, from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors—“The evidence lately adduced, exclusive of a multiplicity of other proofs, establishes, beyond a question, the commission of robberies, mürdes, and the most atrocious, deliberate cruelties; in a word, an aggregate of the most atrocious crimes: nor let it be supposed that these offences were of rare occurrence, or confined to particular districts; they were committed, with few exceptions and with slight modifications of atrocity, in every part of Bengal.”†

The finding of the Select Committee on this branch of Administration was, therefore, as follows:—

“The establishment of an efficient police, though an object of the first importance, appears to be a part of the new internal arrangements in which the endeavours of the Supreme Government have been the least successful.”‡

We believe the above extracts from the Select Committee’s Report conclusively prove that the statement of Dr. Hunter, that “lawlessness was the normal condition of all India for half a century, and in some provinces for many centuries, before the advent of British rule,” is not quite correct. As regards Bengal, the disturbances caused in its internal arrangements, by the withdrawal of police powers from the zemindars, had much to answer for the lawlessness that prevailed during the earlier years of the Company’s government. “Divested of the power, they (the zemindars) were, of course, relieved from the responsibility, in regard to robberies committed within their limits, unless it should be proved that they connived at, or were accomplices in, the offence, or omitted to afford every assistance in their power to the officers of Government for the apprehension of offenders.”§

The efforts made by our Rulers, during the fifty years following the submission of the Select Committee’s Report, for restoring peace to the country, were, however, very bold and strenuous. “A century of British rule has, therefore,” as Dr. Hunter truly remarks, “not only secured the Indian frontier from invaders, but it has freed the interior of India from banditti.”|| As was to be expected from the newness of England’s Indian charge, the organization of the police underwent changes from time to time, until at last it arrived at its present state in 1861. During the last 25 years the present police system has been in force without any change whatever, and it is believed

* The Fifth Report, Vol. I, p. 92.

§ The Fifth Report, Vol. I, p. 55.

† Do. Do. Do. p. 93.

|| England’s Work in India, p. 17;

‡ Do. Do. Vol. I, p. 89.

that we have arrived at a stage at which no changes are required. We do not say that the operation of the present police system has been a failure, but we hope to lay before our readers such facts and figures as will make them pause before they pronounce that it has been a complete success.

The safest test of Police efficiency in a country, is the test of percentage of convictions to cases investigated. There is no means, for want of proper data, to compare the working of the present police with that of the one it superseded, nor have we any properly classified statistics of crime for the first few years of the present Police. It is from 1871 that the proper data for comparison are available, and we shall give below, for each of the 14 years from 1871 to 1884, (1) the total number of "Serious" Offences investigated by the Police ; (2) the number of cases ending in conviction ; and (3) the percentage of cases ending in conviction to cases investigated. These "Serious" Offences are murder, rape, grievous hurt, hurt by dangerous weapons, kidnapping, abduction, dacoity, robbery, serious mischief, lurking house-trespass or house-breaking and others described under classes II & III in return D. 7, of, "Criminal Cases Cognizable by the Police," annexed to the Bengal Administration Reports for the above years. Under class II are shown "Serious Offences against the Person" and under class III "Serious Offences against Person and Property, or against Property only."

Table showing the "Serious" Offences against Person and Property investigated by the Police and the convictions obtained during the 14 years from 1871 to 1884.

Yr.	CLASS II.		CLASS III.		Total number of cases under Classes II and III in which conviction was obtained.	Percentage of conviction to cases investigated under Classes II and III.
	Serious offences against the person.	Number of cases in which conviction was obtained.	Serious offences against person and property or against property only.	Number of cases investigated by the Police.		
1871	3,530	1,654	12,336	1,56 .22%
1872	5,275	1,706	16,783	1,78 .24%
1873	5,693	1,744	18,923	1,54 .24%
1874	5,037	1,656	20,22	2,553 .22%
1875	5,267	1,710	19,866	1,925 .20%
1876	4,846	1,630	1*, 123	2,022 .20%
1877	4,434	1,634	17,655	1,876 .20%
1878	4,408	1,621	23,346	2,297 .20%
1879	4,150	1,672	21,788	2,174 .20%
1880	4,181	1,735	19,611	1,668 .20%
1881	4,333	1,757	19,578	1,899 .20%
1882	4,255	1,756	19,700	1,893 .20%
1883	4,142	1,683	20,571	1,840 .20%
1884	4,352	1,599	25,683	2,141 .20%

A careful study of the figures given in the above statement will show that, while the "*Serious*" Offences against Person and Property *have increased nearly twofold* during the comparatively short period of 14 years, the Detective power of the Police *has decreased almost in the same proportion*. The total number of "Serious" Offences under classes II and III, which in 1871 was 15,866, rose to 29,435 in 1884; while the percentage of convictions to cases investigated, which was 22·3 in 1871, fell off to 12·7 in 1884. It should be remembered that even 22·3 convictions out of 100 cases investigated was not at all creditable to the Police, and we do not know how to describe its conduct when it was not able to obtain convictions in more than 12·7 cases out of every hundred cases investigated in 1884. This tendency for the crimes to increase and the detective power of the Police to decrease, is not confined to any particular years, but appears, with slight fluctuations, throughout the whole of these 14 years. The Table with which we have prefaced this article shows at a glance the rise and fall in Crimes and the rise and fall in the Detective power of the Police, by two separate curves for each of the 14 years under consideration. As it is unnecessary for our present purpose to inquire into the causes which have led to the increase in crimes, we shall leave that subject out of consideration. But it is a very serious matter for reflection, that the detective power of the Police, instead of keeping pace with the increase in crimes, has been steadily falling off. As the percentages of cases declared by Magistrates to be false do not show any material variations in these 14 years, the explanation for the decline in Police efficiency must be sought for in the constitution of the Police and not anywhere else. Now let us examine what that constitution is.

It is the general defect of England's administration in India, that the salaries of the higher appointments reserved for Europeans are very high in every department of service. But the mistake, as regards the Police, lies in paying extravagantly high salaries to the Assistant Superintendents and District Superintendents, who, as we shall presently see, do little or no detective work, and *extraordinarily low salaries* to the subordinate grades of officers and men in whose hands depends entirely the success or failure of Police investigations. As the present Police Act, V of 1861, is said to have been framed "on the basis of British and Irish Constabulary Acts,"* we shall begin with a comparative statement showing the designations and salaries of the District Police officers and men as entertained in India, (Bengal), and in Ireland. For the purposes of the present comparison, we shall leave England out of consideration, as the organization of the Police in England is not the same for all the counties, but varies according to the requirements of each county.

* Report of the Commission appointed under the Resolution of the Government of India, dated the 17th August 1860, para 10.

Table showing the designations and salaries of the officers and men in the Bengal and Irish Constabularies.

BENGAL.*		IRELAND†	
Designation.	Salary.	Designation.	Salary.
	Rs.		£
District Superintendents, 1st Grade	1,000	County Inspectors, 1st Grade	400
Do. " 2nd "	803	do. 2nd "	350
Do. " 3rd "	700	do. 3rd "	300
Do. " 4th "	600	Sub-Inspectors, 1st Grade	255
Do. " 5th "	500	do. 2nd "	225
Assistant Superintendents, 1st Grade	400	do. 3rd "	177
Do. " 2nd "	300	do. 4th "	165
Do. " 3rd "	250	do. 5th "	137
Inspectors, 1st Grade	250	Head Constables, Major	104
Do. " 2nd "	200	Head Constables Extra Rate	105
Do. " 3rd "	150	Do. - 1st class	94
Do. " 4th "	100	Do. - 2nd class	84
Sub-Inspectors, 1st Grade	80	Constables Extra Rate	26-6s
Do. " 2nd "	70	Constables " "	72-6s
Do. " 3rd "	60	Constables (Acting) "	67-12s
Do. " 4th "	50	Sub-Constables 1st Grade	6s-8s,
Do. " 5th "	30	Do. 2nd "	5-16s,
Head Constables 1st Grade	25	Do. 3rd "	20,
Do. " 2nd "	20	Do. 4th "	8 years' service and under
Do. " 3rd "	15	1.o. 5th "	14.
Do. " 4th "	10	Do. 6th "	4 years' service and under
Constables, 1st Grade	8	6 months' service and under	8,
Do. " 2nd "	7	Under 4 years,	6 months' service and under
Do. " 3rd "	6	Under 6 months,	Under 6 months.

* Bengal Police Report for 1865 p. 3.

† Created in 1853.

‡ Guide to the Home Civil Service, p. 125.

We would invite our readers' attention to the following facts in connection with the above comparative statement:—

(1) The maximum pay of the District Superintendent in Bengal is Rs. 1,000 per mensem. It amounts to £900 a year at the present rate of exchange, taking a rupee to be equal to 1s 6d. A Bengal Superintendent of the 1st grade, therefore, gets more than double the salary (£400) paid to an Irish Inspector of the 1st grade occupying a similar position.

(2) The Irish County Inspector, holding the same position as the Bengal District Superintendent, has not under him a separate class of officers called "Assistants" in order to act for or succeed him.

(3) While the maximum pay of the Bengal Inspector is *half* of the minimum pay of the District Superintendent, the maximum pay of the Irish Sub-Inspector, holding the same position as the Bengal Inspector, is *nearly equal* to the minimum of the Irish Inspector.

(4) The pay of a lowest grade Irish Sub-Constable (Bengal Constable) of six months' service, is $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the maximum pay of the County Inspector (Bengal District Superintendent), while that of the highest grade Sub-Constable of 20 years' service and upwards, is nearly $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the maximum pay of the County Inspector. But in Bengal a Constable of the first grade gets only $\frac{1}{11}$ th of the maximum pay the District Superintendent, while one of the lowest grade gets $\frac{1}{18}$ th part therof.

(5) Sub-constables in Ireland are allowed increased rates of salaries after certain lengths of service. The Constables in Bengal, holding similar rank, cannot expect any increase to their miserably low wages unless vacancies occur in the higher grades, whatever the length of their service may be.

We shall take up the cases of the lower grade officers and men in Bengal at a subsequent part of this article. For the present we shall examine the case as regards the District Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent. We have seen that very high salaries are paid to these two classes of officers. We cannot understand the reason of paying such high salaries to the Bengal District Superintendent and his Assistant, unless it is to attract Englishmen of good education to the Bengal Police. Now, we do not know that the Bengal Government insists on candidates for appointments in the Police, passing any preliminary examinations; but we know that in Ireland a *cadet* must undergo an examination in the following subjects before he is admitted into the Constabulary:—

(1) Arithmetic; (2) Orthography; (3) Handwriting; (4) Dictation; (5) English Composition; (6) *Precis* writing; (7)

Geography ; (8) British History ; (9) Latin ; (10) Criminal Law ; and (11) Law of Evidence.*

It will be seen that the Standard of examination for admission into the Irish Constabulary, though in itself not a high one, is still sufficiently high for testing the general acquirements of a candidate ; and when he begins work, he begins it with a knowledge of the Criminal Law and the Law of Evidence which is indispensable in the case of a Police Officer. In Bengal, however, he is required to undergo examinations in the Criminal Laws after his appointment to the Police. These examinations are of two Standards, and are on the following subjects :—†

Lower standard.—The Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure. The Police Act (V. of 1861) ; the Village Chowkidari Act, and the D. and N. Circulars of the Police Department : The use of books is allowed in answering questions at this examination.

Higher standard.—The questions for this examination are taken from the same Acts as are prescribed for the Lower Standard, and from all the Circulars of the Police Department, from the Excise, Salt and Opium Laws ; from Act III (B. C.) of 1884 (so far as it relates to Police) and from the Evidence Act I of 1872 : In this examination the use of books is not allowed.

The examination of Police Officers, like that of Officers in other Departments, takes place twice a year, and four chances are ordinarily allowed to an Officer to pass by each of the above two Standards. Considering how few the subjects of examination are, what facilities are given in *using books* at the Lower Standard, and after what length of time an Officer is required to undergo the examination without books by the Higher Standard, it is not too much to expect that, generally speaking, a person with ordinary intelligence, education, and application should pass his examinations, without attracting any special notice on the part of his Official Superiors. But the following Circular from the Inspector-General of Police on the subject of these examinations, speaks for itself :—

"The Inspector-General has been extremely disappointed at the result of the last examinations of Police-officers. Of thirteen Officers examined by the Higher Standard, only one secured passing marks, and only two out of four officers succeeded in answering satisfactorily the questions set for the Lower Standard. One Assistant who appeared for examination by the Higher Standard, evidently from his answers, knew almost nothing of Police work or Police Law, and the answers given by many clearly showed that they had paid very little attention to the

* Guide to the Home Civil Service, p. 44.
† Botelho's Police Manual., p. 1032.

very important duty of acquiring some knowledge of the elements of Police Rules and Regulations.

"It is almost incredible, but it is none the less a fact, that one Officer appearing for examination by the Higher Standard, did not attempt to answer a question regarding the uses of A, B, C Forms, and that the reply given to the same question by another Assistant of three years' standing was hopelessly incorrect.

"Not a single Officer answered correctly a question connected with Police duties in the Salt Department, although more than one officer has been employed in districts where the Salt Laws are specially applicable, one officer having even been in charge of a district in Orissa.

"The Departmental questions were most imperfectly answered, and showed that the Assistants had taken very little trouble to master even the most elementary portion of Police work,

"The importance of Assistant Superintendents passing their examination, and fitting themselves to perform efficiently the duties for which they receive their pay, has been constantly pressed on their notice, and it is most disappointing to the Inspector-General to find that, in the great majority of instances, Assistants can have made no real efforts to acquire a knowledge of Police duties, or to make any real return to Government for the salaries which they have received." (Circular Memo No. 1, of 1882).*

A Circular like the above cannot be expected to issue more than once, nor, even if issued, can it be found in a Manual to which the public have access; but that things have not much improved since its issue, will be seen by referring to the Quarterly Civil Lists. The Civil List for January 1886 shows that out of 18 Assistant Superintendents in the lowest grade, two only had completely passed by both the Standards of examination. Two officers appointed in 1880, one in 1881, three in 1882, three in 1883, and five in 1884, had not fully passed their examinations. Of the two appointed in 1880, one had still to pass in Law, though he had been nearly six years in the service.

We believe that the facts we have laid before our readers conclusively prove, that the Assistant Superintendents, who ultimately become District Superintendents, are not a very well educated body of men, nor are they very assiduous in their duties. The uselessness of having a class of Assistant Superintendents for the purpose of filling up vacancies in District Superintendencies was declared in 1871-72, by Sir George Campbell, when Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, as will appear from the following:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor had reason to believe that the

* Botelho's Police Manual, pp. 334-35.

demands which are now frequently made for Assistants to District Superintendents of Police, are founded on the idea which was, till lately, very prevalent, that the Police is to be a separate caste and service, and that no one but Assistant Superintendents can act for or succeed District Superintendents. The Lieutenant-Governor declared that it was not his intention that District Superintendents should have Assistants, save in exceptionally heavy or difficult districts; that the Inspectors are their Assistants for most practical purposes, and that when a District Superintendent goes out into his district, and there is no Assistant under him, an officer of the rank of an Inspector should have charge of the current duties of his office, and communicate all matters of importance in the diaries to the Magistrate as well as to the District Superintendent. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, is of opinion that Assistant Superintendents are, as a rule, unnecessary, and His Honor has resolved not ordinarily to appoint a full number of new Assistant Superintendents, but to absorb those who are fit for it in the Subordinate Executive Service of the Regulation and Non-Regulation Provinces. When under the exceptional circumstances of any district it may be desirable that an Assistant should be appointed, an officer of the Subordinate Executive Service may be specially so employed. For the appointment of District Superintendent, either officers of the Subordinate Executive Service or Junior Civilians would be eligible."*

But as the number of Assistant Superintendents has remained undiminished since the above orders were passed by Sir George Campbell, it would seem that his successors have not agreed with him in the views that the police was not to be a separate caste and service, and that others, besides Assistant Superintendents, could act for or succeed District Superintendents. As the Assistant Superintendents are now retained *not because their services were required as Assistants, but because they might succeed District Superintendents*, it is necessary that we should inquire what the special duties of the District Superintendent are, which none but Assistant Superintendents could perform, and for which a previous special training as Assistants was required.

Military organization, we are told by Government, is not required in the Police. Too much time is not to be given to teaching men their drill, which is but a secondary part of a policeman's duty. "The prevention and detection of crime, the protection of person and property, and the arrest of criminals, are the main duties of a Police force. The men

* Bengal Administration Report for 1871-72, p. 88.

should have a fair organization, but not a Military discipline."* A District Superintendent of Police is, therefore, not required to possess the qualification necessary for a Military officer. Whatever knowledge of drilling is required of him is just what is possessed by his Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, and Head Constables, and as regards this portion of his duties any one of these officers might succeed him.

The principal duties of a District Superintendent of Police were set down in the following Circular issued shortly after the introduction of the present system :—

" It has been brought to my (Inspector-General's) notice, that in some districts the Superintendents of Police seldom or never conduct in person the investigation of Serious Crimes.

" 2. I would remind District Superintendents that one of their first duties is to set an example to their subordinates by promptly taking up and energetically investigating every Serious Crime brought to their notice. In proportion as the District Superintendent sets the example of intelligently following up, and vigorously prosecuting offenders, will the Subordinate Police be active and persistent in the detection and prevention of crime.

" 3. It is only by constantly moving about in his district that a Superintendent of Police can become acquainted either with his own Subordinates or the state of his district generally.

" 4. A Police-Officer can never effect much good who merely sits in his office and writes reports, while his Assistants and Inspectors do all the rough work." (Circular No. 14, 1864)†

But, as if the orders contained in the above quoted Circular had not been properly attended to, we find a repetition to the same effect in the Administration Report for 1880-81 :—

" District Superintendents were directed to personally supervise the progress of the police investigation in every important case, and the Magistrate himself was directed, in cases of great importance, to watch the course of the police enquiry from the beginning, and to assist the District Superintendent by his advice and experience in supervising and directing the action of the Subordinate Police."‡

The following reference is made to the above orders of Government in the Inspector-General's Report for the same year :—

" In connection with the supervision of important cases by District Superintendents, and with special reference to the Government Circular of August, 1880, I append a statement showing the number (265) of Serious Crimes personally

* Police Circular No. 10, 1864. Botelho's Manual, p. 684.

† Botelho's Manual, p. 319.

‡ Bengal Administration Report for 1880-81, p. 63.

investigated by District Superintendents. The orders of Government have not had time to take full effect, and I shall be able to report more fully on the subject next year."*

But we find different orders on the subject in the Report of the following year, 1881 :—

" During the year 239 cases were personally investigated by District Superintendents Mr. Monro observes that some of the Divisional Commissioners think that more might have been done if the way of personal investigation, but he points out that personal investigation of a case involves detriment to the other duties which the District Superintendent has to perform ; it renders it necessary to give up to the control of subordinates the proceedings in other cases which he is directing, and it interferes with the work of inspection. The Lieutenant-Governor considers it very doubtful whether the actual presence of the District Superintendent on the spot is of any advantage. The subordinates, if the District Superintendent is making the enquiry himself, will most probably leave every thing to him, while his position and status often prevent him from obtaining information which an officer of lower rank, who could mix freely with the people, would obtain. It would be otherwise were evidence of an offence always easily procurable, or were people at once ready to impart all the information they possess, but in the majority of cases this is not so, and indirect enquiries, which a District Superintendent has neither the opportunity nor the leisure to make, are often necessary before the truth can be discovered. The personal supervision, which it has so often been laid down, that a District Superintendent should exercise in the investigation of cases, should, as a rule, be directed towards making himself thoroughly acquainted with what his subordinates are doing in each case, to advising them regarding the manner in which they should proceed, as to the points on which evidence should, if possible, be procured, and to seeing that they do not neglect their duty, and that cases when sent up are sent up in as complete a form as possible".†

We shall ask our readers to take note of the following points in the above orders in connection with the investigation of Serious Crimes by District Superintendents in person :—

(1) When the present Police was organized, one of the first duties of the District Superintendent was considered to be, to take up promptly and energetically the investigation of Serious cases in person.

(2) Till 1881 the views of Government on the subject remained unchanged.

* Police Report for 1880, p. 51.

† Resolution, dated 1st October 1882, on the Police Report for 1881, para. 19.

(3) The interpretation given by Government in 1882 to the words "personal supervision" is, that District Superintendents are to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with what their subordinates did in each case, to advise them regarding the manner in which cases were to be investigated, and to see that they did not neglect their duty, and that when they sent up cases, they sent them up in as complete a form as possible.

(4) District Superintendents have, under the orders of 1882, been relieved of the duty of personally investigating cases, *because their position and status prevent them from mixing freely with the people* and because the evidence of an offence is not easily procurable.

Having seen what the duties of a District Superintendent are in connection with the investigation of cases, we shall proceed to examine the powers he exercises in the internal management of the Police force of the district. In 1862, when the new Police was organized, the Magistrate of the district had "no authority to interfere in the internal organization and discipline of the Police force."* Even the Commissioners of Divisions were "not in any way to interfere with the details of the organization of the Police."† But this independence of the District Superintendent no longer exists, as will appear from the following orders:—

"Since the first flush of the newness and independence of the Police, successive administrations have more and more inclined to restore the authority of the Magistrate of the district over it, and to a considerable extent this had been done. But still there was a good deal of the old feeling in the Police, which gave rise to a longing for independence and to occasional antagonism; while many Magistrates insufficiently exercised the powers which they really possessed, not feeling very sure of their ground. The Lieutenant-Governor (Sir George Campbell) has, he hopes, now made very clear the entire subordination of the Police to the Magistrate for all and every purpose; and by precise instructions and revision of rules in such a way as to leave no opening for doubt, he has, he trusts, both enabled all capable Magistrates to exercise to the full the powers entrusted to them, without hesitation or misgiving, and induced the Police officers to feel that their position is in no degree equivocal, and that the situation must be accepted."‡

"If possible, all appointments superior to the grade of Constables will be made by promoting capable and deserving men of the grade below.

"If it be in any case necessary to appoint an outsider to any

Botelho's Manual, p. 313.

* † Botelho's Manual, p. 313.

• ‡ Bengal Administration Report for 1871-72, p. 67.

grade higher than that of Constable, the approval of the Magistrate of the district must be previously obtained to the nomination.

* * * * *

"The District Superintendent will make all promotions up to, and including, the grades of Sub-Inspectors; but the appointments of Sub-Inspectors of all grades shall be subject to the approval and confirmation of the Magistrate of the District, to whom due notice of all promotions to, and in the grade of, Sub-Inspectors must be given by the District Superintendent in such manner as the Magistrate of the district may direct."

* * * * *

"The Magistrate will have a veto on transfers of Police officers from one place to another within the district, and should take care that local efficiency is not sacrificed by frequent transfers. All transfers or proposed transfers must be notified to the Magistrate."* (Circular M).

"An appeal from orders passed by District Superintendents affecting Constables and Head Constables shall lie to the Magistrate of the District" (Circular M).†

"In the case of the punishment of Sub-Inspectors, the sanction of the Magistrate of the District shall be necessary." (Circular M).‡

"When the conduct of Inspectors calls for punishment, the matter must be reported by the District Superintendent, with his recommendation through the Magistrate of the district and the Commissioner of the Division, to the Inspector-General of Police." (Circular M). §

"District Superintendents will have no direct correspondence with the Inspector-General or Deputy Inspectors-General of Police in all matters connected with District Police administration. Returns and accounts they may forward direct, but correspondence on all other subjects must be submitted through the Magistrate, except when, in his absence, he has given express directions to send any case or any class of business direct, when a note should be made to the following effect:—

"Forwarded in absence of the Magistrate under instructions of that officer." (Circular E, 1881.) ||

Now we shall ask our readers to pause and consider the following points:—

(1). When the present Police system was introduced, the District Superintendent was required to promptly take up and energetically investigate in person every Serious Crime brought to his notice (p. 311).

* Botelho's Manual p. 674.

§ Botelho's Manual p. 667.

† Do. do. p. 668.

|| Do. do. p. 442.

‡ Do. do. p. 667.

He is now relieved of this part of his duties, and is simply required to see that his subordinates do their work properly. (p. 312.)

(2). • He was at first the head of the District Police independent of the Magistrate of the District (p. 313). Now he is entirely subordinate to that officer (pp. 313-314).

The responsibilities imposed upon and the importance attached to the post of a District Superintendent of Police, when it was originally created, have thus been much reduced, and the question arises :—Is it any longer necessary that a class of Assistant Superintendents should be retained, simply for the purpose that they may “act for or succeed District Superintendents ?” Before we proceed to answer this question, let us consider what other classes of officers there are from amongst whom District Superintendents could be appointed. We have seen (*vide* p. 310) that according to Sir George Campbell—“For the appointment of District Superintendent, either officers of the Subordinate Executive Service or Junior Civilians should be eligible.” But there is a third class of officers—the Inspectors—whose claims to succeed to District Superintendencies in the ordinary course of service, have not yet been considered, though there are isolated instances in which, after passing through Assistant Superintendencies, they have become District Superintendents.

“The ordinary duties of an Inspector in charge of a division, apart from those laid down by the Code of Criminal Procedure and Act V of 1861 are,” we are told in a Police Circular, No. 12 of 1862, “the close personal supervision of all his subordinates, as well as of their arms and accoutrements, of the station-houses, outposts, and lines or barracks ; the immediate reporting to his Superior officer of any dereliction of duty on the part of the first, or any injury done to, or sustained by, the last ; the procuring and collecting of information on all subjects connected with his duties, whether of prevention, protection, or detection ; and to this end, when not engaged in any special inquiry or investigation, the Inspector should, during the course of every day if possible, (Sundays excepted), visit one or more Stations and Outposts of his Division, noting carefully any unusual or remarkable circumstance or occurrence ; conversing, as opportunities offer, with persons likely to be well informed upon subjects in which he is interested as a Police officer ; receiving verbal reports during his ride from chowkidars and heads of village communities ; observing, for the information of the District Superintendent, the condition of roads, ferries, and public buildings, and marking the assembling in, or passage through, his jurisdiction of any body of men of peculiar character or suspicious bearing and appearance.”*

Here let us refer to a distinction which seems to us to be of sufficient importance to deserve more than a mere passing notice. It will be seen that the duties of an Inspector of Police are very various and onerous. As an officer in charge of a Sub-Division, he stands to the District Superintendent in the same relation as that in which a Sub-Divisional Magistrate stands to the Magistrate of the District. If the Sub-Divisional Magistrate happens to be a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, and is sufficiently high up in the list of that Service, his next appointment is that of a District Magistrate-Collector, though, if he happens to belong to the Uncovenanted Service, he cannot expect to rise higher. There is, however, no such disqualifying circumstance in the case of the Police Inspector, though the practice has been to create a sort of distinction of "Covenanted" and "Uncovenanted" between the upper grade Police Officers, counting upwards from Assistant Superintendents, and the lower grade Officers counting downwards from Inspectors. This distinction, so far as we have been able to understand, is based on a distinction between "Europeans" and "Natives." There may have been some grounds for making such a distinction formerly, when "Natives" were not tried in high posts under the English Government, and when education had not made such an advance in the country as it has since made. But now that "Natives" have been found fit for District Magistrate-Collectorships, District Judgeships, and even for High Court Judgeships, there can be no reason whatever, why they should not be found fit for Police Superintendentships, especially as the entire detective work is now done by "Natives." The few "Natives" who have from time to time been translated from Inspectorships, to what may be called the "Covenanted" Service in the Police, have, so far as the public are aware, proved invariably a success. Should it be argued that in times of disturbance a "European" (which term includes an East Indian, a Eurasian, as well as a European) would command greater influence, and therefore prove more useful than a "Native," we would refer to the past history of Bengal to show that, in all cases of fights between rival zemindars and others, it was the Head Constable, Sub-Inspector, or Inspector, nearest to the place of occurrence, and not the District Superintendent or his Assistant, residing at a distance from it, who arrested or dispersed the rioters. We are aware that there have been instances in which the Police has been employed under European officers, in frontier expeditions or in putting down outbreaks among such rude peoples as the Sonthals or the Khunds. But the Reserve Police generally employed on such work, consisting of a quasi-military force, is always under the charge of a European Inspector. As, however, there is already a good

number of European Inspectors in the service (out of 15 First Grade Inspectors so many as 9 are Europeans), it should not cause any anxiety to our Rulers lest, by making appointments to District Superintendencies from amongst the Inspectors, they should have only "Native" Superintendents. When we come to the question of appointing Inspectors, we shall show that, by adopting a principle of nomination and examination, Government could induce "Europeans" to join the Police as Inspectors.

We shall now proceed to answer the question—

Is it any longer necessary that a class of Assistant Superintendents should be retained simply for the purpose that they may "act for or succeed District Superintendents?"

Our answer to the above question is in the negative, for reasons already stated, but which we may, for the sake of convenience, sum up as follows :—

(1). As the Assistant Superintendents *have little or no work to do as Assistants, it is an extravagance* in the Administration to retain their services simply for the purpose that they may "act for or succeed District Superintendents."

(2). Members of the Subordinate Executive Service and Junior Members of the Civil Service, who, in the trial and inquiry of cases, acquire practical experience in Police work, can act for or succeed District Superintendents.

(3). Inspectors of Police who are, for all practical purposes, the Assistants to District Superintendents, should also be eligible (as indeed they are fit) to act for or succeed them.

The services of the Assistant Superintendents being dispensed with as useless, the next point for consideration will be :—

Should not the salaries at present given to District Superintendents be re-adjusted, with reference to the salaries given in the other services, and the changes that have taken place in the duties and responsibilities attached to District Superintendencies during the last 25 years?

The maximum pay given to the best men in the Subordinate Education Service is only Rs. 500 a month. The bulk of the officers in the Subordinate Executive Service cannot hope to rise to more than Rs. 600 a month, there being only 9 appointments on Rs. 700 and 7 on Rs. 800 in a Service counting as many as 300 officers; and it is a well recognized principle with all *civilized* Governments to pay *higher salaries to the Magistrates* who try *Criminals than to the Police Officers* who bring them up for trial. When we come to the subject of "Criminal Justice," we shall show that the work of trying criminal cases is done mostly by the members of the Subordinate Executive service. Such being the case, we would give the District Superintendent a salary of Rs. 300 to begin with. There would then

be three Higher Grades on Rs. 400, Rs. 500 and Rs. 600 a month. As there are 52 Superintendents of the different Grades at present in Bengal, we would have 12 of these appointments on Rs. 300, 20 on Rs. 400, 10 on Rs. 500, and 10 on Rs. 600, which would be a very fair distribution among the four Grades. This will, while keeping the efficiency of the service unimpaired, result in large savings to Government, a portion of which could be utilized in raising the salaries of the Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables, and Constables, about which we shall have to speak hereafter. The following Table shows the expenditure at present incurred for Assistant Superintendents, and District Superintendents, and the expenditure that will be incurred for District Superintendents according to our scheme :—

Statement showing the present expenditure on account of Assistant and District Superintendents and the expenditure to be incurred on account of District Superintendents under the proposed Scheme.

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Present expenditure for Assistant Superintendents and District Superintendents.

		Proposed expenditure for District Superintendents (the posts of Assistant Superintendents being abolished.)		Rs.
16	Assistant Superintendents,	1st grade, at Rs. 400 a month	6,400	10 District Superintendents, 1st grade, at Rs. 600 a month
15	Do.	2nd grade, at Rs. 300 a month	...	6,000 ... 2nd grade, at Rs. 500 a month
20	Do.	3rd grade, at Rs. 250 a month	4,500	20 District Superintendents, 2nd grade, at Rs. 500 a month
7	District	do.	20 1st grade, at Rs. 1,000 a month	5,000 12 District Superintendents, 3rd grade, at Rs. 400 a month
7	Do.	do.	12 2nd grade, at Rs. 800 a month	7,000 12 District Superintendents, 4th grade, at Rs. 300 a month
12	Do.	do.	12 3rd grade, at Rs. 700 a month	5,600 8,400 12 District Superintendents, 5th grade, at Rs. 300 a month
11	Do.	do.	11 4th grade, at Rs. 600 a month	6,600 7,500
15	Do.	do.	15 5th grade, at Rs. 500 a month	51,000 Total monthly expenditure under the present system
Deduct expenditure under the proposed system		... Total monthly savings	22,600 28,400 Total annual savings	340,800 Total monthly expenditure under the proposed system 22,600

The Inspectors as a class are well spoken of in the Administration Reports. For instance we read :—"The upper grades of Native officers, that is the Inspectors of Police, have been greatly benefited in their pay and promotion. Their character and efficiency have been proportionately raised. It cannot be said that all of them are beyond reproach and suspicion, but the majority of them are favourably regarded by their superiors and their countrymen."* Again—"The higher Native officers of the force bear a tolerably good character on the whole, but not so high as that borne by the Deputy Magistrates and the Native Civil Judges. While some of the Inspectors are excellent, others are ill esteemed"† Now, we would ask our readers to consider whether by throwing open, in the manner proposed by us, to the Inspectors the appointment of District Superintendent, Government would not be still further raising "their character and efficiency." So long as the highest pay that an Inspector can aspire to is only Rs. 250 a month, it is not fair to compare him in point of character and efficiency with the Deputy Magistrates and Subordinate Civil Judges who may rise to more than three times that amount. But we believe that by adopting our scheme, as given above, Government will not only effect large savings in the expenditure, but will also give the country a more efficient class of Superintendents than we at present possess. The Inspectors will bring to their new posts *an amount of experience gained in the practical work of investigation into cases which the present Superintendents are sadly in want of.* The character of the Lower grade officers will also be greatly improved by placing before them such a field for advancement.

We have no objection to the appointment of the members of the Subordinate Executive Service and of the Junior Members of the Civil Service to District Superintendencies, provided they begin at the bottom, i. e. on Rs. 300 a month. But this it would be absurd to offer to the latter, while the former would not find it worth their acceptance.

The Inspectors must, therefore, be considered as the proper persons to act for or succeed District Superintendents. In order to secure the services of the best available men for Inspectorships and ultimately for District Superintendencies, we would have two examinations, one for appointment to the lowest or 4th grade of Inspectors on Rs. 100 a month, and the other for appointment to the 2nd grade on Rs. 200 a month. The examinations would be somewhat similar in nature to the Irish examination, the subjects for which have been given at page 307 of this Paper. But changes will, of course, have to be made in those subjects in

* Bengal Administration Report for 1874-75, p. 24.

† Do. Do. for 1875-76, p. 17.

order to suit the varying requirements of this country. At the First Examination the competition will be among :—

- (1) Sub-Inspectors of the 1st grade.
- (2) University Graduates.
- (3) Persons especially nominated by the Inspector-General of Police.

At the Second Examination, Inspectors of the 3rd grade will be substituted for Sub-Inspectors of the 1st grade in the above classes, the other two classes of candidates remaining unchanged.

Our object in having two Examinations for admission into the Police as Inspectors, is to give Government an opportunity for admitting, at the Second Examination, those "Europeans" who may not choose to enter service in the lowest grade of Inspectors on Rs. 100 a month. In the second grade they will begin on Rs. 200, which is nearly equal to the present pay (Rs. 250) of the lowest grade of Assistant Superintendents. But we may here mention that there are "Europeans" serving as Sub-Deputy Collectors on Rs. 100 and Rs. 150. In the Public Works Department, requiring special training, we find "Europeans" even on Rs. 80 a month. The fact is, we are living in very hard times, in which both "Europeans" and "Natives" of good education and respectability find it very difficult to earn a living. But what Government should look to is, not how a reform such as is proposed by us will affect this or that particular class of its subjects, but how it will benefit the country or affect it otherwise. We have, however, made provision for the special benefit of "Europeans" of education and respectability to enter the Police, by proposing an examination for appointment to the 2nd grade Inspectorship on Rs 200. Perhaps, it will be argued that Europeans of respectable families will not find it convenient to do the rough work of a Police Inspector. Against such an argument we have nothing to say, as the work of a Police officer, if properly performed, must always be rough. We would, however, give to all Inspectors a consolidated travelling allowance of Rs. 25 a month, besides pay and boat allowances in the river districts as at present. The expenditure on account of this consolidated travelling allowance, which will amount to Rs. 48,000 annually for the 160 Inspectors of all grades, will be met out of the savings to be effected in the travelling allowances now drawn by Assistant and District Superintendents, which amounted to Rs. 87,630 in 1884. The posts of Assistant Superintendents being abolished, there will be no charge on their account under this head, and the new District Superintendents coming under the same rules as the Members of the Subordinate Executive Service, will cease to draw travelling allowances at their present higher rates. This will effect large savings in the present expenditure for travelling charges, out of which our proposed allowances for the Inspectors will be met.

We shall now proceed to examine what reforms should be introduced in the lower grades of Police Officers and men. The evils of the present system of paying low salaries to the Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables and Constables, especially to the two last named classes of officers, have always been admitted by Government, and out of a large number of such admissions we shall make a few extracts in the following :—

"The next grade, Sub-Inspectors, are not so well paid, and are much less favourably regarded. Though many of them are good, yet as a body they are not at all free from the reproach of corruption and malpractices, which used so heavily to lie on the Old Police. This is very unfortunate, inasmuch as in most (though not all) of the serious cases in the interior of the districts, these are the men who first appear on the spot after the occurrence, and upon whose conduct the management of the cases so much depends. If the Sub-Inspector by neglect, collusion or concealment, spoils the case at the beginning, subsequent rectification by the superior officers is difficult. In reality, few things would so materially affect the Police Administration as a decisive improvement in the status of Sub-Inspectors. Financial reasons render this difficult, though it is kept in consideration.

"The Petty Officers and Privates, 'Head constables' and 'Constables' are greatly improved in discipline and external behaviour. But in other respects their conduct cannot be reported upon as at all good ; it is indeed generally esteemed by the native community to be indifferent. The remarks just made above regarding Sub-Inspectors are almost equally applicable to the Head Constables. It were much to be wished that our financial means admitted of their pay being increased."*

"District officers, it is true have much difficulty to contend with, owing to the inferiority of the pay and status of the lower ranks of Sub-Inspectors and Head Constables, as compared with the responsible duties which they are required to perform. The raising of the status of the lower grades of native officers is the most important requirement of the department, and will receive attention on a favourable opportunity."†

"The most important agents of the Police administration are the petty officers of the Force, the Head Constables and Sub-Inspectors, by whom all criminal investigations are ordinarily held ; and it is amongst this class of officers that there is the widest scope for improvement. The attention of Government has long been devoted to considering the means whereby the status of Head Constables especially may be ameliorated, and

* Bengal Administration Report for 1874-75. Minute by Sir Richard Temple, pp. 24-25.

† Bengal Administration Report for 1875-76; p. 73.

it is a matter of regret that financial necessities have hitherto rendered it impossible to give effect to any of the proposals that have been made. The Government is fully aware that this is the most urgent need of the department, and that the only certain means of securing a higher order of efficiency is by raising the status and salary of the petty Police officers. It is feared that until this can be done, the undeniable unpopularity and venality of the Police must continue.”*

“ I believe I shall be borne out by the unanimous opinion of Native and European residents in the interior, who have experience of the regular mofussil police, that the question of improvement in the *personnel* of the Police force merits earnest attention. This is my opinion, not formed to-day nor yesterday, but the result of 20 years’ mixing with the people, under circumstances favourable to the formation of an impartial judgment upon the matter. There is only one way in which the improvement can be effected, namely, the removal of Police officers from temptation to err. We must pay them better than we now do, and we must endeavour to attract better men to the police service by opening to them a better career than they now have.”†

“ I am frequently reminded that better pay and pensions should be secured for the Police ; but instead of seeing an early day when such advantages could be attained, I am afraid that, under the enforcement of economy, we shall have great difficulty in holding our own, and maintaining the present standard of efficiency.”‡

Now, we would ask our readers to consider how long will our Rulers be content with thus merely expressing their regret, and meanwhile allow the country to suffer from the present evils ? We have shown what large savings can be effected by abolishing the useless posts of Assistant Superintendents, and by remodelling those of District Superintendents according to a scheme we have proposed. Out of those large savings, amounting to Rs. 3,40,800, we would devote at *least two lacs* towards improving the pay and efficiency of the lower grade Police Officers, especially of the lowest grade Sub-Inspectors and Head Constables and of the Constables of all the grades. We would not have a Sub-Inspector on less than Rs. 50 a month, nor a Head Constable on less than Rs. 15. As regards the Constables, we would press on the attention of our readers the following

* Bengal Administration Report for 1875-76, p. 89.

† Speech delivered by the Hon’ble A. P. MacDonnel on the introduction of the Bill for the amendment of the village Chowkidari Act. Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated February 10th, 1886, p. 191.

‡ Sir Rivers Thompson’s speech on the above Bill. Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated February 10th, 1886, p. 198.

important orders issued by the Government of India when the present Police Act was passed :—

"The pay of the Police must vary according to time and place, but it may be laid down as a general rule, that it should always be sufficient to give the foot Policeman something more than the highest rate of wages for unskilled labour, so as to ensure Government having the choice of all the classes to which unskilled labourers belong, thus securing the best and most respectable of that class for the Police. The pay of mounted Policeman, and of the superior grades will of course be higher according to their expenses and rank.

"This rule will be modified in some districts where the Police are generally drawn from some particular class of the community. It will also be modified where they are paid wholly, or in part, by grants of land ; but the general rule to be observed is that the Policeman should get, as pay, rather better wages than he would otherwise make by his industry, so that simple dismissal from the Police may always be a substantial punishment.

"This is the best pecuniary guarantee for his honesty and efficiency. This rule is incompatible with the present too general practice of paying Policemen wages notoriously insufficient for their subsistence, leaving them to make up the difference by peculation."*

But the following statistics regarding the average wages per month of able-bodied agricultural labourers, taken from pages 41-44 of the Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* for January 12th, 1861, will show how far the above orders of the Government of India are being observed in Bengal :—

Name of District.	Average wages per month of able-bodied agricultural (<i>i.e.</i> , unskilled) labourer.	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Burdwan	8 0 0	
Bankura	5 10 0	to 9 8 0
Beerbham	4 0 0	" 6 0 0
Midnapore	6 8 0	
Hooghly	7 8 0	
Howrah	7 8 0	" 15 0 0
Calcutta	12 0 0	
24-Pergunnahs	10 0 0	
Nuddea	6 0 0	
Khoolna	9 0 0	" 12 0 0
Jessore	7 8 0	
Moorshedabad	5 0 0	

Name of District.	Average wages per month of able-bodied agricultural (<i>i.e.</i> unskilled) labourers					
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Dinagepore	7	8	0			
Rajshahye	4	0	0	to	5	0
Rungpore	7	8	0			
Bograh	6	0	0	"	7	0
Pubna	5	0	0	"	6	0
Julpigooree	8	0	0			
Darjeeling	8	8	0			
Dacca	6	0	0	"	8	0
Furreedpore	7	8	0			
Backergunge	8	0	0			
Mymensing	7	0	0	"	10	0
Chittagong	9	0	0	"	11	0
Noakhali	7	0	0	"	10	0
Tipperah	6	0	0	"	8	0
Chittagong Hill Tracts	9	6	0			
Patna	4	0	0	"	5	0
Gya	2	8	0	"	3	0
Shahabad	5	0	0			
Durbhanga	2	12	0	"	5	0
Mozufferpore	3	0	0	"	4	0
Sarun	3	12	0	"	6	9
Chumparan	6	8	0			
Monghyr	3	12	0			
Bhagulpore	4	8	0	"	6	0
Purneah	4	11	0	"	5	10
Maldah	4	8	0	"	5	0
Sonthal Pergunnahs	3	12	0			
Cuttuck	5	10	0			
Pooree	6	0	0			
Balasore	5	10	0	"	7	8
Hazareebagh	3	12	0			
Lohardugga	3	4	6	"	3	12
Singbham	3	0	0			
Manbham	4	11	0			

It will appear from the above that in Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah, 24 Pergunnahs, Khoolna, Jessor, Dinagepore, Rungpore, Julpigooree, Darjeeling, Dacca, Furreedpore, Backergunge, Myinensing, Chittagong, Noakhali, Tipperah, and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the footmen in the lowest two grades of the Bengal Police, drawing Rs. 7 and Rs. 6 per month, instead of getting more, as it was the intention of the Government of India that they should, get less than the agricultural or unskilled labourers. The best pecuniary guarantee for the policeman's " honesty and efficiency " on which so much stress was, as we have seen, laid by the Government of India, has thus disappeared in the above named districts, and the country has been allowed to suffer from the anticipated evils of low pay.

Indeed, the Government, finding it difficult to enlist recruits, has been forced to grant a batta of Re. 1 per mensem to Constables of the 3rd and 4th grades (*i. e.* on Rs. 7 and on Rs. 6) employed in the Reserve in some of the districts, as will appear from the following extracts:—

"The difficulty felt in former years in enlisting suitable recruits in Bengal districts continued during the year under review. In 1880 sanction was given to the grant of batta of Re. 1 per mensem to Constables of the 3rd and 4th grades employed in the Reserve, in the districts of the 24-Pergunnahs, Howrah, Hooghly, Moorshedabad, and Midnapore, and the grant of batta was afterwards extended to the Reserves in Jessore and Dacca. The Inspector-General states that, judging by the number of resignations and desertions before and after the grant, the concession seems to have had no effect in Dacca, and very little in the 24-Pergunnahs; while very good effects have resulted from it in Moorshedabad, Jessore, Midnapore and Howrah.*

"In addition to the seven districts named last year, batta is now given in Rajshahye and Pubna, while it is proposed further to extend it to Rungpore."†

The case now stands thus:—Government finding it impossible to retain the services of the Constables of the Rs. 7 and Rs. 6 grades in the *Reserve*, in which they cannot make any extra earnings from bribery and extortion, has been forced to give them an additional rupee a month by way of batta in some of the districts, but has allowed the wages of the men employed at Police Stations and Outposts to remain unchanged, as, in doing duties in the interior, the men make additions to their pay by means of peculation, which induces them to continue in the Police, and thereby saves Government the difficulty of meeting resignations and desertions in large numbers. Now, such a state of things would be considered a scandal even in an Asiatic Ruler, and we know not how to describe the conduct of our civilized Government in this respect. We consider this to be the greatest blot on the English Administration in India, and not a day should be lost in endeavouring to remove it. As, in the districts of Behar and Chota Nagpore, the average wages of an unskilled labourer is lower than the pay of a lowest grade Constable, Government will not have to raise the salaries of the Constables in those districts, nor will it be necessary to give any large increase to the men employed in the Orissa Division; but if most of the districts of Bengal Proper, the pay of a Constable of the lowest

* Para. 4 of the Resolution of the Government of Bengal, dated 27th September 1884, on the Police Administration Report for 1883.

† Para. 11 of the Police Administration Report for 1884.

grade should not be less than Rs. 8 per mensem. This will only give him just as much as an unskilled agricultural labourer earns as wages. We wish we could recommend that no Policeman should get less than Rs. 10 a month; but remembering how slow our Rulers are to increase the salaries of the lower grade officers, we refrain from making such a recommendation, though the savings, to be effected under our scheme, as pointed out above, would be found sufficient even for such an outlay. It would, however, be possible to meet the additional expenditure on account of increased pay for the Constables, as proposed by us, out of the two lacs which we have reserved for the purpose of improving the efficiency of the Lower grade Officers and men, consisting of Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables, and Constables. The Statistics regarding the increase in crime and decrease in Police efficiency which we have embodied in the Table prefacing this Article, ought to make our Rulers feel alarmed at the present state of things.

We have one more reform to propose before we conclude our subject. The Inspecting Agencies in all the Departments under our Government *though very highly paid are but inadequately officered*. The fact is after paying high salaries for its "European" officers, Government has no money to spare for adequately paying the "Native" subordinate officers or for keeping up a proper Inspecting Staff. But, whatever the Policy may have been in the Past, *that of the Future should be to govern the country chiefly through the less costly "Native" agencies, controlled by the more costly "European" agencies*. In the Police we have one Inspector-General, who has hardly any time for inspection work, and two Deputy Inspectors-General for the whole of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpore. The total area of these Provinces is 150,589 square miles. Then again it should be borne in mind that facilities for communication do not exist in Orissa and Chota Nagpore; while in the other Provinces, communication with the Sub-Divisions and Stations in the interior of districts is not easy, especially in the river districts of Eastern Bengal. Such being the case, it is very necessary that there should be an adequate number of Deputy Inspectors-General, so that every Police Station in a district might come under the inspection of a superior officer of the department at least once a year. The area of Ireland is only 32,531 square miles, so that the Deputy and Assistant Inspectors-General of Ireland, have not to travel over a tract of country more than one-fourth the size of the Provinces ruled by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; and we find that there are in Ireland, besides the Inspector-General, one Deputy Inspector-General and two Assistant Inspectors-General. At this rate, Bengal should have a Deputy or an Assistant Inspector-General

for each of the nine Commissionerships. But this would be a very large measure of Reform, and though we could provide for the additional expenditure out of the balance, Rs. 140,800, of our savings, *after spending two lacs* in improving the position and efficiency of the Subordinate Officers and men, we think we should not appropriate for the purposes of our Reforms the whole of this amount, but should let the Government have the benefit of at least a *lac* of rupees to spend on other objects. We would, therefore, have two more Deputy Inspectors-General on Rs. 1,000 per mensem. We would then divide the whole country under the Government of Bengal into 4 Police Circles, and place a Deputy Inspector-General over each of these Circles. The Deputy Inspectors-General will have to do no part of the Office work now done at the Inspector-General's Office, but their sole and only duty will be to move about, like the Registration Inspectors, inspecting annually as many of the Police Stations and Offices within their Circles, and as often as possible.

We are aware that the carrying out of the Reforms proposed by us will have the effect of reducing largely the present number of "European" Officers in the Police. But as regards the present District Superintendents, almost all in the three higher grades on Rs. 1,000, Rs. 800, and Rs. 700 have earned their "Good Service" pension, and the majority of those on Rs. 600 have nearly completed their 25 years. If Government were to grant pensions to those who are entitled to it by a good service of 30 years, and to utilize the savings thus effected in carrying out, even partially, some of the reforms proposed by us, it would be a great thing. By adopting definitely a course of action in the line pointed out by us, and keeping to it steadily in future, Government will, within a short time, be able to give to the country the benefits of retrenchment and reform without inflicting any distress on any person. It will, however, require an amount of more than ordinary courage to break through the present system, and to introduce changes which would be very great and striking. But our Rulers are not wanting in such courage. There are instances in which large numbers of Natives as well as Europeans have been thrown out of employment owing to the exigencies of the Government, and we do not see any reason why our Rulers should be lacking in courage in the present instance. "Peace has its victories as well as war," and the carrying out of the Reforms we have proposed in this article would undoubtedly be one of those victories.

We shall now conclude with a summary of what has been stated above:—

1.—We have proved that it is *not quite true* that India never,

before the advent of British Rule, enjoyed internal peace and security.

2.—The lawlessness that prevailed during the earlier years of the British Government, was partly owing to the withdrawal of Police powers from the zamindars, who were formerly responsible for the peace of the tracts of country included in their zamindaries.

3.—Judged by the test of percentage of Convictions to Cases Investigated, the present Police shows a steady falling off in efficiency.

4.—The cause for the decrease in the detective power of the Police is to be sought for in its constitution, and not anywhere else.

5.—Compared with the Irish Constabulary, on the basis of which the present Police is said to have been organized, the following facts deserve notice :—

- (a.) The Superintendents of Bengal are paid extravagantly high salaries compared with the officers of the same grade in Ireland.
- (b.) The Irish County Inspectors (Bengal Superintendents) have no Assistants under them.
- (c.) The Irish Sub-constables (Bengal Constables) get $\frac{1}{8}$ th the maximum pay of the County Inspectors, while the Bengal Constables do not even get $\frac{1}{100}$ th part of the maximum pay of the Superintendents.
- (d.) The *cadets* in the Irish Constabulary undergo an examination before they are admitted into the Service, but no such preliminary examination takes place in Bengal.

6.—The results of the half-yearly Examinations of the Assistant Superintendents do not show that, as a class, they are able or painstaking.

7.—One of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Sir George Campbell, held that Assistant Superintendents were not required.

8.—The duties of the District Superintendent are not such as to require that a body of Assistant Superintendents should be maintained specially for the purpose of filling up vacancies in District Superintendencies.

9.—Much of the responsibilities imposed upon, and of the importance attached to, the post of District Superintendent, at the time it was first created, have disappeared.

10.—The Inspectors who are at present, for all practical purposes, the Assistants to the District Superintendents, should be treated really as such, and should act for and succeed District Superintendents.

11.—The posts of Assistant Superintendents should be abolished.

12.—The salaries and grades of the District Superintendents should be remodelled according to a scheme detailed at length.

13.—The savings effected by the abolition of the posts of the Assistant Superintendents, and by the remodelling of those of the District Superintendents, will amount to Rs. 3,40,800.

14.—In order to secure the best educated men—Natives and Europeans—for Inspectorships, there should be two examinations, one for the lowest or 4th grade, and the other for the 2nd grade.

15.—Out of the above savings, two lacs of rupees should be spent in improving the position and character of the lowest grade Sub-Inspectors and Head Constables, and of the Constables.

16.—The Constables of the lower grades are paid, in most of the Bengal Districts, less than the wages earned by agricultural (*i.e.* unskilled) labourers.

17.—The orders of the Government of India are, that the Constables *should be paid more, and not less, than the wages earned by unskilled labourers.*

18.—The evils of the present system of low salaries are admitted by Government.

19.—A further amount of Rs. 30,000 should be spent out of the savings in creating two additional posts of Deputy Inspectors-General for securing better inspection work than at present.

20.—The carrying out of the Reforms proposed by us, will require the exercise of an unusual amount of courage on the part of our Rulers; but we feel sure they will not be found wanting in this respect.

PARBATI CHURN ROY, B.A., U.C.S.

DARJEELING,
The 25th January, 1887. }

ART. VI.—BIMETALLISM.

THE widespread interests involved in the fluctuations of silver have always ensured it the attention of those immediately concerned in its operations; but circumstances have lately occurred that have drawn the attention of the reading public in India to this subject, which ordinarily would be but little attractive to it. The late heavy fall in exchange, chiefly due, not to any actual occurrence in the money market, but to mere apprehensions of something that did not come to pass.—the abolition, namely, of the Bland Act,—the influence of the fall upon Indian imports and exports, and upon the Home charges, its connection with the re-imposition of the Income-Tax, in terms that plainly stated it was meant to be permanent, and the publication of a numerous literature dealing with the difficulties of the situation and suggesting remedies—have not only challenged the mind of the public to an intellectual palaestra on a purely impersonal question, but appealed directly to its feelings through the shortest avenue thereto, its pockets. People in India begin to think there must be something wrong about a system that makes it possible for a foreign legislature sitting at Washington, or for a body of bankers carrying on business in London, to upset by a single telegram all the calculations in the Budget of the Indian Government, converting whatever surplus it can venture to promise into a deficit and making it reinit taxation in one form only to reimpose it in another. It would be neither possible nor profitable to go through the whole mass of this literature, even for one who, pretending to no practical acquaintance with business transactions, depends for his knowledge solely upon his reading. Leaving aside much that, although no doubt written in good faith, has no other merit except honesty of intentions, a fair idea of the principal points involved in this question, as regards its theory and its general applications, can be obtained from Mr. Barbour's book, which sets forth very clearly the case of bimetallism, and indeed performs much more than its title promises, from Mr. Molesworth's writings, and from the essays of Mr. Giffen, the most formidable opponent of bimetallism in England that has committed his views to writing; while its particular bearings upon Indian commerce and finance can be gathered from the official correspondence between the Government of India and the India Office, including Mr. O'Conor's minute, from the notes of Mr. Yule and the Hon'ble Mr. Steel, addressed to the Chamber of Commerce, and supporting the views and interests of the Indian merchant houses in correspondence with the purchasers of Council Drafts in London, and from

correspondence in local newspapers, especially the letters of "Lossit" in the "Englishman," throwing much light on the question of loss by exchange. On a subject like this a separation is scarcely possible between principles and their applications, and need not be attempted in the following effort to present a conspectus of the principal points at issue dealt with more fully in the above named writings. I proceed to this work as a contemporary writer did to that of original dogmatism, "with the diffidence of imperfect knowledge," and wish to relieve the reader at once by saying that these pages will contain no new remedy for falling silver. What is required now is, not more remedies, but the fair trial of *one*, believed in by increasing numbers of men of intelligence and experience. It is due to the movement initiated by such men, that a Commission is now sitting in England to consider the question ; and this fact is the only explanation of the otherwise meaningless despatch of May last from the Treasury, whose object it evidently was to commit itself to nothing till the Commission had submitted its report.

I.—The existing Relations of Silver to Gold.

The extreme section of the opponents of Bimetallism assert that the supply of the precious metals has no perceptible effect on prices, since the world's aggregate stock of gold and silver has risen 50 per cent, while prices have fallen 5 per cent since 1850, and infer that not only is bimetallism unnecessary, but one or other of the two precious metals can be safely demonetised. The assertion is partly true, because although in theory prices depend jointly upon the quantity of the precious metals in stock, and the frequency with which commodities are exchanged for money, yet, in practice, this dependence is obscured by the use of credit and by other causes ; but the inference from it will be seen to be impracticable, from a consideration of the stock of the two metals, and of the proportion of it in use as money. The figures given by bimetallists and monometallists do not quite agree, and it is best to give both. Mr. Barbour states the value of the total stock of gold and silver in the world to be 1,224 millions and 1,600 millions sterling respectively in 1883. Mr. Mulhall on, the other hand, gives the figures as 1,504 millions and 1,550 millions in 1885. This relatively higher proportion of silver in stock is made to serve a purpose upon the next point—how much of these quantities is used as money : Mr. Barbour is of opinion that the precious metals hoarded up with the object of being converted into coin in case of need, should practically be looked upon as money, (such a definition would include the bullion reserves in banks), and taking this together with the fact that more silver than gold is so hoarded,

comes to the conclusion that the amounts of these two metals used as money are about equal, being 700 millions sterling of each. But even without this concession, the important part played by silver, in the currency of the world, is abundantly shown by the figures given on the authority of the Director of the United States Mint, which, reduced from dollars to sterling, put down the gold and silver currencies of the world, exclusive of China, at 790 millions, and 560 millions respectively. The latter amount would be raised by the addition of the currency of China which is in silver. On the other hand Mr. Mudhall makes out that 48 per cent of the total stock of gold, and 35 per cent of that of silver, are now used as coin; and taking the total value of the gold and silver coinage of the world to be 1,250 millions sterling, he concludes 41 per cent of the world's coinage to be silver, and the remaining 59 per cent gold. It will be seen that these percentages agree with those given by the United States' figures, though the total amounts of the coinage, as stated by these two authorities, differ by one hundred millions. Now the crudest form, in which monometallism has been advocated is the adoption of a universal coinage having gold for its standard, which was the recommendation of the Monetary Conference of 1867, and for the accomplishment of which the cheapness of gold, abundantly poured forth during the preceding fifteen years, was supposed to offer the right opportunity. And it was for this purpose monometallists strove to make out that the proportion of silver coinage was comparatively small, and might, without difficulty, be replaced by gold. Since then, owing to the increased production of silver for a time, this advocacy, still acting on the principle that the appreciating metal should be demonetised, took a new turn and substituted silver for gold as its proposed universal standard. And lastly the principle itself has been reversed, and a gold standard again advocated in accordance with the new creed that the depreciating metal should be demonetised. Holland demonetised gold in 1854, but recalled the false move, Germany has demonetised silver, and Colonel Smith proposed in 1868 the adoption of a gold currency in India. But on whatever principle universal monometallism proposes to work, and with whatever success single countries have changed their standard without ceasing to be monometallic, it is very evident from the figures given above, that gold cannot wholly replace silver in the world's currency. Whether the proportion of silver coinage is half or only 41 per cent, such a substitution would be accompanied by all the evils of a contracting currency. While population, labour and commodities would be increasing at a normal rate, or perhaps owing to the contraction, continue at an abnormally stationary state, prices would fall by nearly

half. It is very true, as Professor Sidgwick points out, that *when the fall in prices has been equally distributed*, the check upon labour and commodities will cease to act, but the whole of the mischief will be in the transition from the old to the new price-levels. And who will undertake to calculate the extent of this mischief, how much it will contract, and how much it will raise the Bank rate? We know the currency that the adoption of a gold currency in a single country, Germany, has been accompanied by a depression of trade and fall in gold prices in England estimated at something like 31 per cent, a portion of which only can be due to other causes, and that during the panic of 1866 (to take one out of many examples), involving the ruin of several banking houses—among which was one with liabilities amounting to twelve millions sterling,—all this disaster was registered by a rise of only 2* per cent in the rate of the Bank of England. What will happen if every country adopts a gold standard and the Bank rate rises by 20 or 30 per cent? Nothing *after* the change is accomplished; but a great deal *while* it is going on.

If the difficulty of ascertaining facts has stood in the way of inductions therefrom, with regard to the entire stock of the precious metals, it is much less with regard to the next question,—What quantity is annually produced, and what influence has the production upon the price of the one metal measured in terms of the other? The answer to this question will serve to test the value of another common assertion of the extreme monometallists, that the market gold price of silver has fallen simply because its supply from the mines has increased faster than that of gold, or in other words, because its cost of production has diminished. But the figures in this case are known with sufficient exactness to point to the fact that, while the annual production of the two metals has varied greatly since 1803, the ratio between their prices continued very steady from that year to 1873, but from the latter year, although there was an increased production of silver over gold, to the extent of about 20 per cent till 1881, followed by an increased production of gold over silver to the same extent, there has been a steady* fall in the gold price of silver. The following figures will illustrate the variations in the rate of annual production, and the steadiness in price during the earlier of these two periods:—

Year.		Value in £ of annual production of gold.	Price of silver, per oz.
1850	...	8,890,000	60 <i>4d.</i>
1856	...	32,250,000	61 <i>2d.</i>
1864	...	18,683,000	61 <i>d.</i>
1873	...	21,946,000	59 <i>3d.</i>

* The Bank rate rose from 8 to 10 per cent. in five months; the normal rate is usually taken to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., so that there was great tension before this rise took place.

Or, to put the same relations in another way by taking periods, and comparing the ratios of the values of the productions of gold and silver during each period, with the ratios of the market values of the two :—

Period.				Ratio per cent of values of production of gold during the period to that of silver.	Ratio of market value of gold to silver.
1801-1810	...	..	..	24 to 76	15·6 to 1
1851-1855	...	..	..	78 „ 22	15·7 „ 1
1866-1870	...	..	..	69 „ 31	15·5 „ 1

The following figures will similarly illustrate the steady fall of silver in spite of variations in the rate of production during the later period :—

Year.				Value in £ of annual production of gold.	Value in £ of annual production of silver.	Price of silver per oz.
1874	...	..	..	19,900,000	14,300,000	58d.
1878	...	..	..	24,400,000	19,500,000	53d.
1881	...	..	..	21,200,000	21,000,000	52d.
1883	...	..	..	19,300,000	20,400,000	50d.

These approximate figures are enough to show that the prices of gold and silver in terms of each other have not followed the course of the rates of their production, and to disprove the assertion that the fall in silver is due to its increased supply from the mines. What, then, is the cause that kept the price of silver steady for a period of seventy years, and then subjected it to a series of movements resulting in a heavy fall? Monometallists of the extreme school grasp at another straw by way of answer, and, by a curious application of the law of supply and demand, account for the fall in silver by its diminished use in the arts and manufactures, or, to quote their own words, "because plate has gone out of fashion." I am not aware whether bimetallists have thought it worth while to take up and refute this assertion, but to show the uncertain basis on which it is grounded, it is enough to state, that while Mr. Mulhall puts down the value of the silver used in the "manufactures, &c.," in 1871-84 at 190 millions sterling, against only 80 millions used in coinage, Fawcett gives the value of the silver plate manufactured in 1874 in England as 183,000/. Making a liberal allowance, this would make England to have employed less than 3 millions sterling worth of silver during the fourteen years for this purpose, and would require more than sixty other countries in the world, each using the same quantity as England, to make up the 190 millions, said to have been used in the manufactures!

The true answer to the above question has, however, been furnished, among others, by Mr. Giffen, who takes no notice of this assertion, but says there is a general agreement

that four causes have been at work to bring about the depreciation of silver, and to every one of these bimetallists assent, but add a fifth, cause, which Mr. Giffen does not recognize. These causes are: First, the demonetisation of silver and the adoption of a gold currency by Germany in 1873, by which nearly 50 millions sterling of gold was absorbed in that year from the market, thus appreciating that metal, and nearly 30 millions sterling worth of demonetised silver was thrown upon the market three years later, which had the effect of bringing the market price of silver down to 47*d.*, though the average price during the whole year was 52*d.*. Second, the restriction of the silver coinage by the Latin Union in 1874. This had the effect of leaving on the market a quantity of silver which would otherwise have been absorbed into the coinage of the Union, and circulated at a fixed ratio to gold, but which now would have no other price except what it could fetch as a commodity. This virtual abandonment of bimetallism by the Union was the result of the action of Germany, just noticed, and of the prospect of further discoveries of silver mines. Third, the increased production from the American mines, on a scale which will be readily understood from the fact that the out-turn of the United States' silver mines in 1875 was 15 millions sterling against 30,000*l.* in 1860, one million in 1862, and six millions in 1872. Much of this increased produce came out of the Cumstock Lode of Nevada, a "perfect mountain,"—in the glowing language of the reporters quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*,—and reminding the poetic reader of "the hill with grisly top" out of whose "spacious wound" the crew of Mammon "dug out ribs of gold,"—"a perfect mountain of silver ore, one glittering mass of sulphates mixed with the richest character of chlorides," on whose sides "every stroke of the pick added to the already immense wealth from the mines," and, it must be said, dug the grave of the fixed ratio which the Latin Union had slain in haste and alarm. On the other hand it should be remarked, that the depreciation due to this cause was partially checked by two events—the passing of the Bland Act in 1878, by which the United States mint was compelled to coin 24 millions of dollars in silver every year, and the resumption of specie payments by the same country in 1879, after they had been suspended by the issue of an inconvertible paper currency in 1868, necessitated by the exhausted resources of the country after the Civil War. It should also be remarked that while bimetallists recognize the influence of over-production such as this in bringing about a fall in the price, they are careful not to over-estimate the extent of that fall; because a rise of the rate of annual production of silver, even from 14 to 24 millions at once, means a very small addition to the total stock of that

metal, not exceeding $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum ; and such a small addition cannot wholly account for the heavy fall of 25 per cent in the value of silver that has occurred since 1873. And yet there are monometallists who account for it in this way. The fourth cause is the diminished absorbing power of India. It has often been thought that because India has imported large quantities of silver in past years, and especially for the ten years between 1856 and 1866, she will continue to import proportionately large quantities in future years ; but, from the tables given by Mr. Barbour, it is plain that out of the 1,500 millions of rupees worth of silver imported into India between 1855 and 1870, as much as 960 millions was due to special causes (such as capital intended to be spent upon the construction of the Indian railways, and the principal of the rupee loan raised by the Government,) which are all classed in the table as "borrowed in all forms," and which it is evident cannot constitute permanent elements in the demand that India will have in future years for silver. This demand would be regulated by the amount necessary to keep prices at the same level, while population, industry and internal exchange operations would expand at the normal rate, as well as to make good the ordinary wear and tear of the coinage. This amount is estimated by Mr. Barbour at 30 millions of rupees yearly, which gives about two annas per head of population. Even raising this to 5 millions sterling, it is evident that whatever may be the truth of the assertion, made by some monometallists, that India and China have, between them, absorbed since 1860 a little more than the total product of the silver mines in the world, this cannot with certainty be predicted of the future. If the future production of silver is put down roughly at 20 millions sterling a year, it will have to be shown that China must absorb three times the amount that India, apart from special causes, will, before they can both together absorb the total product.

But if the depreciation since 1873 is thus accounted for, we have still to account for the remarkable steadiness of silver for the long period of seventy years before that date. And it is upon this question that bimetallists, and the moderate section of the monometallists, part company. The reply of the latter is that the reason is simply negative ; namely, the absence of the four causes that brought about the depreciation. But this does not satisfy bimetallists : they ask—Why the depreciation of gold since 1848-'50, following upon the discoveries in California and Australia, and amounting according to Mr. Giffen's moderate estimate to 10 per cent, had the effect of raising the price of silver by only 2d., from 6d. to 62d., and of altering the ratio by only 0·3, from 1 to 15·8 to 1 to 15·5, but why the increased production of silver to the extent

of 20 per cent up to 1876, already counteracted in the course of the next four years by a rate of production reduced by the same percentage, should still have had the paradoxical result of bringing down silver from 60*d.* to 49*d.*, and of altering the ratio to 1 to 20? The monometallists again reply, that just as a number of extraordinary causes have been shown to have combined to bring about the depreciation of silver, so there have been extraordinary demands for gold, such as Turkish loans, the French war loan, inflation of trade, formation of joint-stock companies,—all conspiring to keep up its price in spite of its increased production. Mr. Giffen, however, confining himself to England, after a careful comparison of the prices of both raw materials and manufactured goods, and allowing for the increase in the population, estimated that in the 20 years since 1850, there had been a depreciation of gold in England to the extent of 33 per cent.; and from this percentage he makes a further large deduction on account of the increase both of labour and of its efficiency, leaving a net 10 per cent. depreciation spreading over twenty years. But neither does this answer give complete satisfaction. It only proves that the depreciation of gold was not so great as alarmists had predicted it would be; but it leaves one important circumstance out of consideration, which destroys any parallelism between the depreciations of gold and of silver, and it is this: when gold was depreciating, the bimetallic law of the Latin Union was in force: when silver has been depreciating that force has been withdrawn. Making every allowance for the influences which the causes enumerated by Mr. Giffen had exerted in preventing a further fall in gold between 1850 and 1873, and in aggravating the fall of silver since the latter date, there remains the question—What share had the fixed ratio of the Latin Union in these two phenomena? Mr. Giffen implies it had none, and points to the fact, that the annual production in the case of such durable commodities like the precious metals, even when exceptionally large, makes a very slight impression upon the enormous amount already accumulated. Without for a moment denying this (indeed Mr. Molesworth has gone further, and shown that silver has been actually depreciating at the very time that its stock is diminishing relatively to gold) bimetallists point out that, even supposing Mr. Giffen's explanations of the depreciations of gold and silver to be sufficient, without calling in the influence of the Latin Union, this only explains the steadiness of silver for twenty out of the seventy years. On the showing of the monometallists themselves, the rate of production has had a small share compared with other causes in bringing about these depreciations; what proof is there that these causes

were not active at one time or another during the first fifty, as they have been during the last twenty, of these seventy years? And if they have been active, what counter-cause has been at work to prevent their disturbing the steadiness of silver? The history of the Bank of England alone shows three great monetary crises (those of '25, '37, and '47) within these fifty years, and thereby hangs a tale of depression of trade, stock-jobbing and burst speculations, quite as able to have affected the prices of gold and silver then, if they were able to affect them afterwards. Then, as afterwards, there had been increase of population and of labour and of trade. If, therefore, the disturbing effect that all these causes would have produced upon the market prices of gold and silver, was met and counteracted by an increased production of gold in the latter period, why did not the disturbance take full effect when there was no increased production to counteract it during the former period. To this, as far as I am aware, monometalists have not replied, except that the "natural" price of silver had, as a matter of fact, been steady, whatever disturbing causes there may have been. The whole case, therefore, now stands thus: monometalists assign special causes for the depreciation of silver since 1873, special causes for the depreciation of gold since 1850 and give no causes for the steadiness of silver before the latter date; bimetallicists assign the same special causes for the depreciation of silver as monometalists, but add a fifth cause, namely the abandonment of the fixed ratio by the Latin Union, and assign *one* cause for the steadiness of silver, in the midst of disturbing influences for seventy years, namely, the maintenance of the fixed ratio by the Latin Union. There had existed in France since 1803 the fixed legal ratio of 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$, at which the mint was open to the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver, until in 1874 France imposed restrictions upon this free coinage in the case of silver, with the result of becoming virtually a monometallic country, and of compelling the rest of the Latin Union to follow her example. But during the long period that the fixed ratio had been maintained, the price of silver continued steady, oscillating very slightly about 60*d.* The theory of bimetallism affirms that the fixed legal ratio and the steady market price were not a mere coincidence, but that they were connected as cause and effect; that the connection can be again restored without injuring existing interests generally; that Indian finance for some years past has suffered from its severance, and that its restoration will relieve the Indian tax-payer at the expense only of the "gold-bug," that is to say will relieve the many and poor at the expense of the few and rich, the productive at the expense of the unproductive

classes. We have now to enquire what this theory is, and how it proposes to administer relief to India.

II.—The Theory of Bimetallism.

Suppose two countries, both with the same population, the same quantity of exchangeable commodities, and the same rate of increase in both population and commodities. Let one of these countries use 1 million coins of a metal A, and the other 10 million coins of a metal B, and let the rate of production of each of these metals be such as to keep exact pace with the increase of population and commodities, so that prices will be maintained at the same level in each country. Also, let all the metal be used for coinage and for no other purposes. It is evident that one coin of the metal A will purchase the same quantity of commodities as ten coins of metal B; that is, if one country desires to buy some of its commodities from the other, then (neglecting cost of transit) the rate of exchange between the two metals will be 1 to 10. Now, suppose that at the end of, say, the first twenty-five years, while population and commodities in each country have doubled themselves, the quantity of metal A has also doubled itself, but the quantity of metal B has increased four-fold. There will be 2 million A coins in circulation in the one country against 40 million B coins in the other, so that one A coin will now purchase as much commodity as twenty B coins, and the rate of exchange between the two metals will now be 1 to 20; metal B will be said to depreciate in terms of metal A; prices in the B metal country will rise 100 per cent, while they will be stationary in the other country, and the international trade of the two countries will no longer be on the same footing as it was before. If, instead of these changes, at the end of the first twenty-five years, while population and commodities had doubled themselves, the quantity of metal B had doubled itself, and that of metal A increased fourfold, there would be 20 millions of B coins against 4 millions of A coins; five coins of metal B would purchase as much commodity as one coin of metal A; the rate of exchange would be 1 to 5; metal A would be said to have depreciated in terms of metal B; prices in the A metal country would rise 100 per cent, those of the other country remaining stationary, and the conditions of international trade would be again altered, but in the opposite direction. As a third case, suppose at the end of the same period, population and commodities having doubled themselves as before, the quantity of metal A remained stationary, while that of metal B had increased fourfold. There would now be 1 million of the former against 40 millions of the latter; but prices in the A metal country would have fallen 100 per cent, and risen in exactly

the same proportion in the other ; one coin of metal A would purchase as much commodity as forty coins of metal B ; the rate of exchange would be 1 to 40 ; the former metal would be said to have appreciated, and the latter to have depreciated, and international trade would suffer a more violent dislocation than in either of the other two cases.

Now, suppose at this stage the countries, to prevent the recurrence of all these fluctuations, came to an agreement to give up the use of single metals, and to adopt *both* for their standard coinage, circulating at an arbitrary fixed ratio of say 1 to 10 ; on the condition that it will be optional to every one to pay his debts in whichever of the two metals he chooses, but calculating the amount of his debt at that ratio alone, irrespective of any variations in the productions of the two metals. There will now be a total coinage made up of one million A metal, and 40 millions B metal coins, shared between the two countries, but since the prices of the two metals as measured by their quantities are in the ratio of 1 to 40, while the fixed arbitrary ratio is 1 to 10, it has now to be decided which of these two ratios (which for convenience may be called the "market" and the "legal" ratios) will actually prevail. Two cases now arise ; first, these two countries are the only countries in the world, (or are made to embrace them all,) in which case, as no influence from outside can be brought to bear upon them, and as the metals have no other use except as coin, they must needs circulate at the legal ratio. Or, secondly, there might be other countries that refuse to recognize the ratio 1 to 10. Suppose one such country to exist, and to be an exact counterpart of either of the two countries, hitherto considered, with regard to population and commodities, and to have an aggregate of $20\frac{1}{2}$ millions (half the aggregate circulation of the other two) of A and B coins, circulating at the present market ratio of 1 to 40. Debtors in the two former countries having the option of paying their debts in either metal, find that metal B, in terms both of metal A and of commodities, is cheaper in the third country than in their own ; while holders of metal B in the third country find that metal A, in terms of metal B, is cheaper in the two former countries. Two movements will be accordingly set up—the metal B will flow from the third country to the other two, where its exchangeable value will rise to the fixed ratio, and debtors, for every debt of ten B coins they discharge, will clear a profit equal to the difference between the fixed ratio, and the new market ratio which the efflux of B coins will establish in the third country ; while the metal A will flow from these two countries to the third country, where its exchangeable value will rise to the market value so established, and the importers

of metal A (who are the late holders of metal B) will gain to the extent of the difference between the old market ratio of 1 to 40 and the new market ratio established by the influx of metal A. Thus the joint effect of this two-fold movement will be to increase the supply of metal A and decrease that of metal B in the third country, and thus to change the market ratio in it; and the process will go on until that ratio reaches 1 to 10. It will not stop short of this, for it will still be profitable to both countries to continue the interchange of the two metals; but neither will it go beyond it, for then it will be profitable to export metal A from the third country, and to import metal B into it; and this retrograde movement will accordingly set in, until the market ratio travels back to 1 to 10. Thus, then, in both of the two cases supposed to arise, the legal ratio prevails in the countries adopting it, and in one case it also regulates the market ratio of another country which has not adopted it. This is the *stendyng power* of bimetallism upon which it rests its claims to efficacy as a remedy for monetary disorders. In the above skeleton or diagrammatic sketch, all circumstances that must, in the complex operations of actual practice, modify the regularity of its working, and all objections raised against it on the ground that it is unworkable have necessarily been omitted. These have now to be considered.

III.—Practical Bimetallism: its Influence upon the existing relations of Silver to Gold.

It is noticeable that the opponents of bimetallism have oftener directed their arguments against its practical applications than touched upon the truth of its theory. It may be that they consider the theory itself to be sound, but yet too feeble to struggle into practice against the host of counter-influences which any attempt to work it would bring into play, or, may be, that the world being now practically monometallic, the defenders of the existing state of things and of a policy of *laissez faire* in monetary matters, are afraid of compromising their reputation, as practical men, by descending to the discussion of anything that looks like "a theory," "a monetary dream," "a Utopian plan." But certainly the arguments of monometallists, aimed at the principles for which bimetallism contends, have been among their weakest performances, and it is remarkable how many of even Mr. Giffen's objections seem to rest on the ground that bimetallism is not so much unsound in principle as it is unnecessary and inconvenient. Of course, the reason given for this attitude is that in such matters practicability is the surest test of sound principle. Bimetallists do not deny this, but they contend that the principle *has* been so tested and found practicable for three quarters of a century, until a series

of changes connected, as Mr. Molesworth points out, with the virtual demonetisation of silver in America, by an act that looks very much like fraud, and which was only atoned for when too late by the passing of the Bland Act, conspired to thrust the principle out of practice, and to bring about the present state of things.

One of the first objections that attempts to nip bimetallism in the bud is,—How can a Government fix the price of a commodity at an unalterable rate, when that price can only be determined according to the fluctuations of demand and supply? and in support of this objection monometallists anxiously point out that nearly half the gold, and more than half the silver in stock, are used purely as commodities in the "manufactures, &c :" But whether these proportions are so used or not, is not to the point, for bimetallism does not contemplate that Government should fix the market price of the precious metals as commodities, but only that it should fix an exchange ratio between them when used as coins or measures of value. The result of this fixed ratio will be to create, from time to time, a demand for one or the other of the metals that may happen to be cheaper in the open market, and thus to raise its price there as well. Such a demand is surely as legitimate as any that can be supposed to influence the supply of a commodity. As Mr. Gibbs (whose recent conversion from the ranks of the strongest opponents of bimetallism to those of its ablest supporters, is a significant fact of the increasing confidence in its soundness that this theory is inspiring among conscientious thinkers and practical men) puts it, money can neither buy money nor measure money, though it may be composed of two different metals, just as one foot-rule cannot measure another though they can be made of two different substances. The absurdity would lie not in unalterably fixing the ratio of the two metals as money, but in allowing that ratio to vary with their market prices, (a proposal which has sometimes been made as a compromise for bimetallism) which would be as rational a procedure as if a law were passed that the length of the standard steel yard in the Tower should be a little curtailed or a little added to, according to a rise or fall in the price of steel in the market. Neither does the arbitrary ratio interfere with the freedom of the market prices of commodities other than gold and silver. When Government declares that one ounce of gold, or fifteen and a half ounces of silver, will henceforth indifferently be the measure of value of a commodity, say wheat, and if according to the present demand and supply of that cereal, fifteen bushels of it can be exchanged for either of those two weights of gold and silver, Government in no way fixes the price of wheat; for if at any moment the demand for

it increases faster than its supply, nothing in the fixed ratio will prevent the price of wheat from rising; only if now not fifteen but ten bushels of it will exchange for one ounce of gold, they must also exchange for fifteen and a half ounces of silver.

The next objection is directed against the stability of bimetallism: granted the fixed ratio of the metals as money does not fix their price as commodities, would it not produce a worse result? Would it not, owing to the well-known action of Gresham's law, that bad money drives out good, create an increased demand for whichever metal is cheaper at the time? On the showing of the bimetallists themselves it would: if so, would not this increased demand stimulate increased production of the cheaper metal, and thus in turn further depreciate it? And would not this process go on until the dearer metal altogether ceases to be circulated or produced, and the bimetallic country is brought back to virtual monometallism, after having done the mischief of depreciating one of the metals to a lower point than it would have reached had bimetallism never existed? If ever monometallism could make out a *de jure* right to the place that it now occupies *de facto* as "king of the monetary world," it is this argument against the steady power of bimetallism. And the answer that the latter makes is especially interesting as a test of its soundness.

This objection has been stated as strongly as it possibly could be by Mr. Giffen, and is as follows:—Suppose in the open market and in countries outside the bimetallic union, there is a tendency in the cheaper metal to become dearer. That is, when the fixed ratio is 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$ in bimetallic countries, and the market ratio outside is say, 1 to 18 (silver being thus the cheaper metal) by Gresham's law there will be a flow of silver into the bimetallic countries to be exchanged for gold. The market price of silver will rise until it reaches, approximately, the fixed ratio. But if, at this moment, there is an increased production of the hitherto dearer metal, gold, silver will rise still higher in its market price, until the latter passes the fixed ratio and reaches a point above it, say 1 to 12. There will accordingly be a flow of the now cheaper metal, gold, into bimetallic countries to be exchanged for silver, ("provided there is any silver left in these countries," Mr. Giffen pointedly adds) according to the same law: the market ratio will be lowered until it drops approximately to the fixed ratio. So much Mr. Giffen concedes to bimetallism as effectually exerting a steady influence upon exchange, and points out that these changes actually happened about the time of the great gold discoveries of 1850. Before

this date silver, then cheaper, poured into bimetallic France, until "in 1848 the Bank of France had hardly any gold left in its till." But from this date gold began to pour into the same country, and continued to do so until it again began to appreciate. But now, suppose that when silver is already cheaper, there is a tendency for it to become cheaper still : bimetallism "will be powerless to arrest the fall, because the bimetallic country has *already* got the cheaper metal, and has none of the metal which is becoming dearer to exchange." Referring again to the case of France, he seems to express an opinion that had not the depreciation of silver before 1850 been arrested by the most lucky accident of the discovery of gold, there would have been no gold left in France to be exchanged for silver, and to arrest its fall ; so that French bimetallism would have then died a natural death, instead of living on only to meet a violent one a quarter of a century afterwards. The conclusion drawn from the objection, then, is that unless a system of *universal* bi-metallism is possible which obviously it is not, the system will be unworkable.

To this the answer given is something like the following : The theory of bimetallism does not overlook the action of Gresham's law, but claims to operate through it. It also points out that if under its operation an increased stimulus is given to production of the cheaper metal, a greater absorbing power is also called into play, than would be under the action of monometallism. So, that, other things remaining the same, the two systems stand on the same footing, *if only* bimetallism can provide against the likelihood of one of the metals disappearing entirely from circulation. Over and above this, bimetallism maintains that it possesses a greater steadyng power by which the oscillations in the market values of the two metals are limited to a narrower range than under monometallism ; that this power can be effectually exercised by the formation of a bimetallic Union which would comprise the most important nations in the world, so that universal bimetallism is as unnecessary as it is impossible ; and that such a Union will be sufficient to prevent the appreciating metal from disappearing from the circulation of the countries comprised under it.

Suppose a metal, silver, to become cheaper in the market : it flows into the bimetallic country at a rate regulated by the difference between the market and the fixed ratios, and by the quantity of gold seeking to be exchanged for it. Suppose that, notwithstanding this demand, and owing to demonetisation, or to greatly increased production, it becomes still cheaper in the market : its flow into the bimetallic country to be exchanged for gold is accelerated as that difference widens, and offers a

higher profit upon the exchange. Omitting at present the influence of the law that in the case of metals the cost of production increases as the demand increases, it is evident that a portion of the demand for the depreciating metal would never have been set up, had not the fixed ratio set it up. The question now is, will the depreciation of the cheapening metal, due to this demand, reach a lower point than it would have under monometallism after equalisation of supply and demand? Suppose when monometallism alone prevails in two countries, the annual productions of gold and silver to be each 20 millions sterling in value, and let this rate serve to maintain the market prices of the two metals at the same ratio, say of 1 to 15, and to keep the prices of commodities at the same level. If now the annual supply of silver rises to 40 millions that of gold remaining unaltered, the result will be to lower the market ratio in both countries, to say, 1 to 20, and to raise the prices of commodities in the silver monometallic country, but to leave them unaltered in the gold monometallic one. At this stage suppose either of the two countries to adopt bimetallism at 1 to 15: if the gold-using country adopts it, then the depreciated silver from the other will flow into it, with the effect of raising the exchange to a point *above* that to which it had fallen under monometallism (a point, namely, between 1 to 20 and 1 to 15) and of lowering prices in proportion in the silver-using country: if the latter country adopts it then the market ratio will continue unaltered, but prices will *ipso facto* fall, inasmuch as they are now measured by silver raised to its old value of 1 to 15. Thus, in either case, the influence of bimetallism has been either to raise exchange or to lower prices, (which in some cases means a rise in exchange). This reaction would be helped by an independent circumstance, namely the law of the cost of production of the metals, which, unlike that of manufactured commodities, increases with the demand: so that less and less paying mines have to be worked to supply it. The result is that profits upon the worst paying mines of both metals will be equalised sooner than if the cost did not increase. When this point is reached the further depreciation of the cheaper metal, so far as it is due to over-production, will stop.

But what if before this steadyng operation has been effected, the dearer metal should entirely disappear from the bimetallic country, as Mr. Giffen, it has just been stated, predicts it will? Bimetallists are well aware of the truth of this objection, and with the view of preventing such an occurrence, they propose to form a bimetallic Union including the chief monetary countries in the world—Great Britain, America, Germany, and the Latin Union; to which, I suppose, would have to be added India.

According to figures quoted from Haupt (I regret the book itself is not before me) this Union would possess in round numbers 550 millions sterling worth of gold, and 400 millions sterling of silver. All other civilised countries outside the Union could only muster 200 millions gold and 270 millions silver (of which last China alone would own 175 millions). If now silver were to fall, it is very plain that the 270 millions of it, swollen now to say 300 millions, would be able to absorb only a little more than half the gold owned by the Union: Nor is this all. The only great silver country outside the Union would be China, owning three-fifths of the entire stock; and it is not easy to understand what motive the Chinaman would have in buying gold at the very time when gold was dear. He can have no use for it as currency, as he uses only silver for that purpose, and he will surely use it less in the arts and manufactures, now that it is dear. If, however, that ingenious heathen should over-reach himself and make the mistake of buying gold at such a time, he will no doubt find out one remedy to rectify his mistake, and that would be to make his country join the Union. Neither is this all. It is to be borne in mind that even during periods of violent fluctuations in exchange, the balance of trade can be settled through means that do not necessitate the actual export of the precious metals in any large quantities. A great deal of the debt in such cases is paid in increased exports of goods, and accordingly Mr. Gibbs, who points this out, asks—in the spirit of the sceptical historian that has recorded and then questioned the truth of the improbable deed ascribed to Peter Piper—*if a fall in silver will drain the bimetallic Union of its gold, where will the gold be drained to?* And he waits for an answer from monometallists.

Another objection which, like the preceding, is still directed against the steady influence of bimetallism, is drawn from the test of the Bank rate and rates of Indian exchange. A writer in a local paper recently pointed out that the annual fluctuations, in the rate of the Bank of Bengal, were on the whole greater from 1862 to '74 (the maximum fluctuation was 6 to 14 per cent in '66) than they were from the latter date to '86 (the maximum was 3 to 11 per cent in '84). Similarly, exchange on London varied more between '61 and '74, (having been as much as $3\frac{3}{4}d.$ in '66), than between '74 and '86, (when the maximum variation was $2\frac{1}{2}d.$). Now as trade suffers more from fluctuations in these rates than from their actual fall, it is inferred that bimetallism will not profit trade. This principle is perfectly true, but it is not the interests of trade alone that bimetallism seeks to serve. But besides the figures prove much less than what they are meant to prove. They give the fluctuations for every year, but not the mean fluctuations

for the two periods selected. Mr. Molesworth, adopting a safer method, and taking a somewhat larger number of years from which to strike averages, says that between 1844 and '58 the Bank of England changed its rates 196 times, whilst the Bank of France changed only 87 times, and that while the limiting rates were between 2 and 10 per cent in England, they were only between 3 and 5 per cent in France; and he infers that the steadiness of the French Bank was due to the fixed ratio of the Latin Union. Granting the accuracy of the writer's figures, for the limited period they embrace, and bearing in mind the fact that India was not a member of the bimetallic Union, though presumably she should have come under its influence as an outsider, it should at least be enquired whether other causes were not at work to produce the alleged fluctuations, before we agree to believe, in the face of the improved steadiness shown to have existed in France, that bimetallism had no steadyng effect upon the Indian money-market.

Another objection that has been raised, is on the ground that the increase, which it is believed bimetallism will make in the total stock of money in circulation, cannot be looked upon as a distinct benefit. It has been supposed, that according to the popular notion, "abundant money is good for trade," bimetallism, by substituting two metals for one, will bring about that abundance and encourage trade. But if there is any benefit to be derived from abundant money, bimetallism does not claim the sole merit of conferring it. It is clear that under monometallism as well, there will be an equal abundance of money in circulation in the world, if some of its nations use a gold and the others a silver currency. There would be no great harm done on the whole, no general interests seriously touched, if on one of the metals depreciating, the countries that had adopted it for their standard, were content to endure the evils of its depreciation, or could persuade some of the gold-using countries to change their standard and adopt silver, so that the surplus would be absorbed, and prices maintained at the same levels in both gold and silver-using countries. But unfortunately the history of past years, although it shows the occurrence of depreciations of both metals from time to time, never shows a single instance, that I know, of a country disinterested enough to give up the appreciating metal and adopt the other for the general good. On the other hand there are examples of rich and powerful countries abandoning a depreciating metal and scrambling to substitute the appreciating metal as their standard. Mr. Giffen acknowledges that the "diminution of (gold) money has been the result of an injudicious application of monometallism." But as long as a monometallic country finds that

by altering its currency it will suffer no loss itself, and feels it is not bound to consider whether such a step will injure others, what encouragement is there for hoping with him that this injudicious application is one "of which the nations of the world are not now likely to be guilty of"? Bimetallism proposes to build upon safer ground than trusting to the generous instincts of mankind upon the matter of money, and leaves the readjustment of supply and demand to the action of a self-compensating mechanical law as a safer agency. But this very disinterestedness, if such it is, has been made the basis of another objection. As a matter of fact bimetallism, as now advocated, does not lay stress upon any connection between "good trade," and "abundant money." That was a notion, not started by the older bimetallists, but common to political economists generally, without reference to the side they took in the battle of the standards. But the depression in trade that has followed upon the unnatural inflation of the last decade, and the crawl into which its recent "leaps and bounds" have subsided, have had the effect of bringing about juster notions of the functions of money among later economists. Professor Sidgwick, who has borne strong but judicious testimony to the stability afforded by bimetallism, has pointed out that the scarcity of the symbol of value cannot influence value itself, that "a fall in prices occasioned by the scarcity of coin cannot, if equally distributed, make rational people produce less." Industry will be as active, commodities as abundant, and their exchange by trade as brisk, if money is half as plentiful and prices half as low as they were before, *provided the fall is universal*. And the bimetallism of the present day fully agrees to the truth of this.

Another objection, just alluded to, is that a bimetallic union only benefits countries outside itself, by giving a fictitious value to a metal whose "natural" market price is lower. A monometallic country using the over-rated metal would find that while its purchasing power had diminished at home, it continued to be high within the Union, so that, by carrying the metal thither, it could get more commodities for its money's worth. On the other hand bimetallic countries would at the same time set up a demand for the over-rated metal, checking its depreciation, raising its market price, and thereby again benefiting the monometallic country. So far then as these considerations go, it would be to the interest of such a country to keep out of the Union, and be, as it were, the recipient of outdoor relief. So, too, it has been asserted (by the German Finance Minister among others) that it would no less be to the interest of a country already within the Union to desert it and revert to monometallism, choosing the under-rated metal as its standard; and the example of France recently

withdrawing from the Latin Union has been cited as an example. In answer, there is no reason why outside countries should not be benefitted, so long as it is not done at the expense of the Union countries, and it has not yet been shown what injury the latter would suffer. It should also be noted that the two advantages which an outsider would reap—more goods for its money, and a rise in the rate of exchange—would have opposite tendencies, one counteracting the other, instead of working together towards an augmented result. As to the possibility of a secession, it has been questioned by Mr. Tidman, who points out that the seceding country must, before it can become monometallic, get rid of its stock of the metal it rejects from its currency, say silver, by exchanging it for gold, which it selects, unless, indeed, it is content (or rather it is bold enough) to begin life anew with the stock of gold it already has,—which would mean a frightful fall in prices. But if it wants to avoid such a calamity, where can it buy gold with its discarded silver? Not from its late fellow members of the Union, for they would be quite right, in such a case of breach of faith, to stretch a point in their right of choice and refuse any payments to the seceder except in silver: not from silver monometallic countries, for although they may have gold to sell, they would not be likely to depreciate their own currency by selling it for silver: nor from gold monometallic ones, for it is not likely they would need silver to any large extent. Of course, in such reasonings on probabilities, there is the chance that the improbable might, after all, come to pass; but if the Union is made to embrace the chief nations in the world, there would be no difficulty either in providing a law against such an occurrence as a secession, by direct international agreement, or in giving effect to the new law if necessary.

The last objection it is proposed to notice, is one that urges, in a spirit somewhat opposed to that of the preceding, that bimetallism is selfish, and will injure existing interests: that by proposing its fixed ratio at 1 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ it will be doing an injustice to the whole body of creditors. Fund-holders in England and other gold-using countries of the Union, who think they are entitled to be paid in gold only, would now be liable to be paid in silver. Those creditors of silver-using countries like India, who have expressly stipulated that payments to them were to be made in gold, will be helpless when they see this stipulation violated. To prevent such hardships, then, it has been proposed that bimetallism should fix the legal ratio of gold to silver at their *present* market value, which is about 1 to 20. In theory there can be no objection to this lower rate, just as there can be none to the higher; but there are suffering interests to be considered, whose relief has been one of the

strongest motives with some of the advocates of bimetallism, and before which the hardships which a rich and small body of men *may* endure will not be allowed to stand by any right-feeling mind. This relief would not be effected if the ratio of 1 to 20 were adopted. This ratio, indeed, has little else to recommend it : it is due to extraordinary circumstances, not to the normal course of monetary history, and has nothing "natural" about it except the name. There is less reason to look upon silver as occupying its "natural" place in the world's currency *now*, than it did a few years ago before it was so largely demonetised to the serious injury of certain interests ; and there seems to be no reason why the rehabilitation of these interests should not have a prior claim to the preservation of those others that have been profiting at their expense. But this question apart, it is pretty evident that the ratio 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$ will injure nobody ; for if the English fund-holder is paid in silver at this ratio, he will get less silver, it is true, but the purchasing power of that silver will have risen.

The minor objections need not delay us long. It is objected that silver will be two bulky a currency to be carried about ;—the remedy is—issue one pound bank notes : that there will be danger of an over-issue of paper currency within the Union ;—the remedy must be sought in international legislation directed against such issues : that there will be the expense of constantly recurring re-coinages as one metal or the other is selected for making payments ; answer—there is no help for it, but the Government of each country must bear that expense for the good of the whole Union : that there would be much difficulty in making payments which *must* be made in a particular metal, for example, in drawing a cheque for gold to be remitted to a gold-using country, when the bank might tender silver to the drawer ; answer—there *would* be the delay and inconvenience of buying the gold in the market ; and we must just make the best of it.

IV.—Practical Bimetallism : its Influence upon Indian Commerce and Finance.

The influence exerted by the fluctuations of silver upon India is twofold—upon the people through the export and import trade of the country, and upon the Government through the Bills drawn upon it by the Secretary of State. But inasmuch as these Bills are paid ultimately through exported produce, circumstances that may affect the Government as a debtor, will also affect the commercial classes through whom its debt is discharged ; and, as the amount required for this discharge has to be raised by taxation, any increase in it also.

implies an increase in the burdens of the people. Those who look upon the present financial position of the Indian Government as not calling for special remedies, have attempted to show that the interests of the Government and of the people in this matter are very different things : that if low exchange swells the amount of the Government's sterling debt, it at the same time stimulates the country's exports ; that if it compels the Government to impose additional taxes, so it gives the country larger profits on its exports, out of which to pay the taxes ; that the late recourse had to direct taxation, is due not to falling exchange, but to the remission of indirect taxes and to increased military charges ; that, in short, low exchange is beneficial to India, which is better off with the rupee at one and sixpence than she was with the rupee at two shillings.

To this the answer given by bimetallicists is, that the advantage, which Indian trade might have reaped from low exchange has been counteracted by a fall in the sterling prices of Indian exports, much heavier than the fall in silver ; that, if in spite of this the Indian trade returns show an increase in the value of exports, it is due to other causes than low exchange ; that, if the cause of free trade required the abolition of the import duties, and the safety and honour of the Empire demanded the increase of the military charges, no considerations of exchange would have prevented the Government from adopting these two measures ; so that, if exchange had risen, Government would have taken these two measures, but would not have imposed the income-tax ; while, if exchange had fallen still lower than it did, the measures would still have been taken, but the income-tax probably increased, or the budget left to show a gaping deficit ; and that the point in question is, not whether the Indian Government should regulate its expenditure according to its income but whether that expenditure should be at the mercy of the rate of exchange and of those who regulate it—not whether Government should cut its coat according to its cloth, but whether outsiders should have the power of prescribing the size of the cloth.

Into the first of these two influences, namely, that exerted by exchange upon Indian commerce, there enter, with regard to exports, three elements : the silver price of the commodities exported from India ; the gold price they command in European markets ; and the exchange or gold price of silver. Confining ourselves to the consideration of a fall in exchange, the following combinations are possible among these three elements : first, the fall in exchange may coincide with a simultaneous rise or fall in the gold and silver prices of commodities, or these prices may both remain stationary ; second, the fall

in exchange may coincide with a rise in prices of commodities in one metal, and a fall in prices in the other (e.g., a fall in exchange may coincide with a rise in gold prices and a fall in silver prices); and, third, the fall in exchange may coincide with a rise or fall in prices of commodities in one of the metals, while prices in the other metal remain stationary: (e.g., a fall in exchange may coincide with a rise in gold prices while silver prices remain unchanged). Of these possible combinations the one that is applicable to the present actual state of Indian exports is that in which a fall in exchange is accompanied by a fall in gold prices of commodities, while their silver prices remain unaltered. The thorough-going advocates of low exchange have overlooked the fall in gold prices, and have asserted that India takes back silver in return for her exports. Bimetallists have replied by pointing out that gold prices have fallen more than exchange, and that the bulk of Indian exports is exchanged for imported merchandize, not for bullion or specie. These argument and counter-arguments, with their bearings, have been worked out in the following way:—

Mr. Yule, after quoting official returns to show that since silver began to fall there has been a great expansion of the Indian export trade, from 57 millions sterling in 1873, to 85 millions in 1884, proceeds to account for this expansion thus:—The *average* price of wheat in silver at port of shipment in India is (in round numbers) Rs. 7,160 for 100 tons; the average net price in gold that these 100 tons fetch in London is 537*l*. This amount converted into silver at 2*s*., gives the exporter Rs. 5,370; at 1*s.* 10*d.*, gives him Rs. 5,860; at 1*s.* 8*d.* Rs. 6,450; at 1*s.* 6*d.*, Rs. 7,160, and at 1*s.* 4*d.*, Rs. 8,050. But the average cost to the exporter has just been stated to be Rs. 7,160; therefore he will be trading at a dead loss if exchange is above 1*s.* 6*d.*; and will only begin to make a profit when it falls below that rate; and his profits will be larger and larger the lower exchange falls. Nor is this the worst: it may be supposed that when exchange rises, gold prices will rise too so that the average price of the 100 tons of wheat might be something above 537*l*, so as to give the exporter some hope of profit still. But this hope is cut off when Mr. Yule points out that low gold prices combined with low exchange have alone enabled the Indian exporter to undersell the American exporter of wheat; so that if exchange, and, with it, gold prices, were to rise, the latter, who has the advantage of lower costs of production and transport, would drive his Indian competitor out of the European market. Thus then low exchange and low gold prices are beneficial to Indian trade, both serving as a sort of protection to it, and the question to India is no one merely of higher or lower profits with falling and rising

exchange, but a life and death question between trade and no trade at all, if exchange rises above a certain point. This is the case as it is made out by monometallists.

The answer given is as follows:—It is stated by Mr. Yule that the figures given by him in sterling, namely, 84 millions and 57 millions have been obtained from official returns; this means that they are expressed at the conventional rate of 2s., as on this supposition alone they harmonise with the figures in crores of rupees given by Mr. Barbour and Mr. O'Conor. If so, a portion of the difference between the two amounts would represent only a fictitious "expansion," since the real increase in the value would be more truly indicated by converting the crores into sterling at the rate of exchange prevailing at the time (of course higher in 1873 than in 1884). This is pointed out to show that while bimettalists fully concur that there has been a real advance in the value of Indian exports, they hold it has not been to the extent that these sterling figures would imply. They also point out that a portion of this advance is due to a succession of good harvests; to the opening up of new sources of supply; to the cheapening of inland transit consequent on railway extension in India, and to the cheapening of ocean transit, consequent on the opening of the Suez Canal and on the greater competition among steam-ship companies. These are advantages that exchange cannot touch, nor the competition of America destroy. The remaining portion may be set down to low exchange; and with regard to this portion only would India be at a disadvantage compared with America, if exchange were to rise.

But there is another fact—the fall in gold prices,—which Mr. Yule's method, of converting the *average* gold price into rupees at different rates of exchange, seems to ignore. The Index-numbers of the *Economist* calculated on the prices of 22 selected articles, show a fall in gold prices since 1873 amounting to 31 per cent. Taking this percentage to represent also the fall in the price of wheat (it is given as even higher, namely, 35 per cent.), it is evident that the gold price of the 100 tons of wheat would be higher than 537*l.* in 1873, and lower than that amount in 1884, by about 15 per cent. respectively. This would give about 617*l.* in the former, and 457*l.* in the latter year, as the prices the 100 tons would fetch in London, all charges deducted. It seems to me that it is *these* figures and not the *average*, that should have been converted into rupees. Supposing exchange was at 2s. and 1s. 6d. respectively in these two years, (they were really 1s. 11d. and 1s. 7d. which would be still more favorable to the present object), these amounts would stand at Rs. 6,170 and Rs. 6,080 representing the silver prices the exporter obtained in these two years. Now the average cost

of wheat at port of shipment has been already taken to be Rs. 7,160. According to Index-numbers for 13 articles drawn up by Mr. Barbour—it is clear, that the prices of Indian exports had been on the whole stationary from 1873 to 1884; so that this average cost of wheat may also be taken to represent approximately its actual cost in these two years. Comparing this with the silver prices the exporter has obtained, it looks as if he has been trading during these two years at a dead loss. Any advantage that might have been expected, from the fall of a whole sixpence in exchange, has been so effectually counteracted by a fall in gold prices, that he gets less rupees for his wheat when exchange is at 1s. 6d., than he did when it was at 2s.! What does this *reductio ad absurdum* teach? Two things evidently: first, that the benefits of low exchange can be completely counteracted by still more powerful influences, and, second, that the Indian exporter of wheat, or anything else, has been very foolish if he has imported silver in exchange for his exports.

Here then comes in the circumstance, that, fortunately for herself, India has not imported gold and silver to any large amount, but has exchanged the bulk of her exports for merchandise to be imported. The average of the last five years shows—of commodities, exports 84 millions sterling, imports 54 millions; of gold and silver, exports 1½ million, imports 13 million sterling. Does this necessitate any further modification in Mr. Yule's view of the matter? Since 1873 silver has depreciated to the extent of 22 per cent.; if at the same time both gold and silver prices of Indian commodities had remained stationary, the Indian exporter would profit to the extent of the depreciation. But, as just stated, gold prices of Indian exports have fallen 31 per cent., while their silver prices have continued stationary, so that not only has all the gain due to lower exchange been swallowed up in this fall, but the exporter has to bear a loss of 9 per cent., if he converts the proceeds of his sale into silver. He, therefore, with common prudence invests the greater part of these proceeds in English goods now 31 per cent. cheaper, and imports them to India. If, now, the silver prices of imports had risen in proportion to the fall in exchange, they would have been 22 per cent. higher than in 1873, and the exporter (now turned importer) would have made a profit to the full extent of this rise in silver prices. But from tables given by Mr. Barbour, it appears that the silver prices of Indian imports have on the whole remained stationary (or risen very slightly). Thus, then, this additional profit is swept away: what the Indian merchant gained by buying his imports in Europe at low gold prices, he loses by having to sell them at virtually lower silver prices; for stationary silver prices, while silver itself has depreciated amounts to that.

In other words, the Indian exporter profits at his own expense or at the expense of the Indian importer.

It is at this stage that the Hon'ble Mr. Steel's proffered compromise fits in. After pointing to the twofold action of low exchange and low gold prices, he comes to the conclusion that while all the gain from increased exports comes to India, only one-fourth of the loss from lower gold prices falls upon her shoulders. This would have been a fair way of putting the question as it rests at present, had it not aimed at being conclusive; for it remains to be shown whether "all the gain" is more than, or equal to, or less than, the "one-fourth of the loss," before it can be settled whether India is a *net* gainer from low exchange. But if the assertion does not mean to strike a balance in this despite way, but merely intends to state that low exchange has saved Indian commerce from losses which it would have suffered through low gold prices, then there is but little difference of opinion between the two parties; for bimetallists too have independently arrived at the same conclusion.

But if moderate monometallists are doubtful whether low exchange enables Indian commerce to reap a positive gain or merely saves it from heavy losses, there cannot be two opinions that the Indian Government suffers heavily from it. All monometallists have acknowledged this, and have proposed remedies of their own. A correspondent of the London *Times*, after dismissing bimetallism on the ground that its advocates basely proposed to "water down" the British gold currency (the metaphor being presumably drawn from the milk-can and the pump) makes the charming suggestions that the Indian Government should raise the salaries of its civil servant; and repudiate that portion of its public debt due to the unequalled increment in gold. The late Finance Committee, if ever these suggestions caught their eyes, must have read them with indescribably mingled feelings. Another proposal, made in India, has been that the home charges should be met by a sterling loan, and that the Government of India should buy up silver in the market to pay off its rupee debt. The effect of both actions would, no doubt, be to send silver up, the first by preventing Council Bills, which mean so much silver, from being thrown every week on the market; the second by absorbing a large quantity of silver already on it. But on the other hand the demand for sterling loans will have the effect of sending up gold as well, and thus bring exchange back to where it was before; and though silver will be withdrawn temporarily from the market in paying off the rupee debt, it is likely to find its way back to it from the hands of the paid-off creditors, who will naturally seek for a re-investment of their idle capital; so that silver will fall again.

It is a short-sighted policy that would advise the Indian Government to be content if it can just manage to make both ends meet. A large surplus in the finances of a growing country like India is anything but a superfluous luxury. If such a surplus could be assured, a portion of the burdens upon the people, like the Customs duties and the Salt tax, would be among the first to be removed. If the Indian tradesman would suffer by a rise in exchange, consequent on the adoption of bimetallism, he would have his losses made good by the reversion of the Customs ; and if this portion of the community would still have reason to complain against Government, the latter would still have the satisfaction of having relieved the entire community from a tax whose pressure must be felt by the poorest classes of it. But any such good works are rendered impossible by the instability of silver ; and the feeling of helplessness is embittered by the fact that the instability is due to causes that cannot be counteracted or controlled or provided for by the Indian Government.

Instead of these halting remedies or this rest-and-be-thankful policy, bimetallism has been proposed as the only effectual way of getting Government out of its financial difficulties. The way in which these difficulties are brought about, is briefly as follows :—

The Secretary of State for India in Council has certain disbursements to make in England on certain accounts, the principal of which are the establishment of the India Office, the interest on the sterling debt of India, the civil and military pensions, and Indian transport and stores. In order to effect this, he draws every week a certain amount of Bills upon the Indian Government, payable in gold, and offers them for sale in the London market. Holders of sterling, chiefly London bankers doing business with India, purchase these bills, and thus become creditors of the Government of India. But that Government makes its payments in silver rupees, and as these have no other value in England, except what they are intrinsically worth as silver, the amount of rupees the Indian Government has to pay in discharge of the Council Bills is fixed by the market price of bar silver in London. This price is determined by independent causes, and, so far, the depreciation of silver is due to causes unconnected with the indebtedness of the Indian Government. But inasmuch as Council Drafts can be paid by India only through silver, the offering of so many Council Drafts for sale means offering so much silver for sale ; and thus there is brought about the remarkable fact, that while the rupee value of Council Drafts is regulated by the price of bar silver, that price in its turn is affected by the amount of these drafts : if silver exchange, owing to independent causes, is low, then as soon as these drafts are offered for sale, it falls lower. Here then is a

new cause of the depreciation of silver to be added to those five already enumerated.

The sterling value of the drafts in recent discussions has been roughly taken at 13 millions average, and their present rupee equivalent at 18 crores. The conventional rate at which the accounts of India are converted into sterling for easier combination with the accounts of the India Office is, however, 2s. per. rupee. At this rate the value of the drafts in Indian currency, would be equivalent to 13 crores, and the difference between this amount and the actual value, at the current rate of exchange, amounting to 5 millions sterling, is the present "loss by exchange."

The Indian Government, then, has to pay 18 crores to discharge its debt to the India Office. Why does it not make this payment in silver to be exported to London and there exchanged for gold? This proposal has been made as a means of avoiding the necessity of exporting *produce* to England as is actually done to pay off the debt. Gold prices and exchange have both fallen there, but gold prices lower than exchange. India therefore has to export a larger proportion of produce than she would have to export of silver, to pay the Council Bills. Why does she still choose to pay in produce? The answer is that India is a consumer of silver, but not a producer of it. If the Government were to pay the home charges in silver, at the rate of, say, 18 crores a year, she must either submit to have her currency contracted by that amount year after year, or import silver back to the amount thus exported *plus* what she at present actually imports to meet the normal increase of population and industry, and wear and tear of coinage. It is evident that neither of these courses can for a moment be dreamt of as practicable.

The Home charges, then, must be paid in produce. Accordingly the exports from India must exceed its imports in value by at least the amount of these charges. If, owing to a fall in silver, this amount increases, the value of exports must also increase proportionally; and if, owing to a fall in prices in England, this value is diminished, the quantity of exports must be increased in order to make up the full value again. These facts have been seized upon by the advocates of low exchange as proving that Indian commerce profits by it, and that therefore the Indian Government should put up with it. If India was not the debtor of England, then an increase in the value and the quantity of the commerce between the two countries would certainly be a sign of the prosperity of both; but the case is altered when we trace the increase of exports from India to an increase of her debt. It was pointed out four years ago by Sir J. Strachey and General Strachey in their "Finances and

Public Works of India," that this peculiar relation between the two countries operated as a kind of Bounty upon Indian exports, and one of the points brought out clearly by "Lossit," in his letters, is the close resemblance between the Home charges and the German sugar-bounty. If this is the nature of the influence of the Home charges upon Indian exports, then it is certain the exporters profit at the expense of the tax-payers. It is sufficient to quote the opinion of Adam Smith as a conclusive proof that no bounties can operate without profiting one section of the nation at the expense of the rest. He says, on the subject of the bounties on English corn then existing, that "unless the price of the corn when sold in the foreign markets replaces not only the bounty but this capital" (which the farmer has employed in raising the corn) "together with the ordinary profits of stock, the society is a loser by the difference, or the national stock is so much diminished. But the very reason for which it has been thought necessary to grant a bounty is the supposed inefficiency of the price to do this." Exactly the same thing is happening in the case of India. Prices have fallen in England: therefore, if trade between India and England were not handicapped by the indebtedness of the former, Indian exports to England would have fallen off: but India owes a debt to England which must be discharged through exports: therefore these exports must be increased in order that their sale at the lowered prices might make up the amount of the debt. Again, exchange has fallen: if India was not indebted to England, her exports would increase because profits converted into silver would be larger: but India is indebted to England, therefore her exports would increase all the same, but for a different reason, namely, because the equivalent of the debt in silver has increased. Thus, for two distinct reasons, the Indian exports meant to pay off the Council Drafts have to be increased, and in each case the increase has to be made good from the Indian exchequer, that is by the Indian tax-payer. The fact of India's indebtedness has granted a virtual bounty upon the export of Indian produce to the extent of 18 crores. The price, for which this produce is sold, replaces the capital spent on it, together with the ordinary profits of trade, but does not replace the 18 crores of bounty. The Indian tax-payer is a loser by this difference, or the national stock of India is so much diminished. In his capacity of consumer he is a loser by more than this difference; for if the stimulus given by the bounty, that is, by the Indian debt, were withdrawn, Indian exports would diminish by the amount of the debt, and would be thrown as commodities upon the home market; home prices would fall, and the Indian consumer would be benefited by the extent of the fall.

It is, then, not denied that as long as this virtual bounty system lasts, India derives *some* benefit, but the nature of this benefit requires a little examination. It has been already stated that, notwithstanding increased exports, their prices as well as prices in the interior of India have remained stationary. The producer therefore gets the same price as he did when exports were less; and their increase has had the effect of bringing larger areas into cultivation, and of employing more labour, without, however, increasing the rates of profit or of wages. In the same way the exporter has done a larger business, but as long as the value of the exports exceeded that of the imports, by just the amount of India's debt, his gains must have been limited to the ordinary profits of trade, and no more. This has been actually the case in many years, and Mr. Yule's figures for '84-'85 exemplify it:—The exports, 85 millions, exceeded the imports, 66 millions, by 19 millions, which is nearly the amount of the Council Bills at the conventional India Office rate of 2s. But this extension of the area of cultivation, this employment of more labour and this larger business in trade, so repeatedly expatiated upon by monometallists, are not real benefits. All the capital with which they have been carried on has come out of the pockets of the people themselves. The cultivator and the labourer and the exporter must pay more taxes before it becomes possible for them to cultivate more, or labour more, or export more. If the home charges were to cease to exist, all these activities, it may be granted, would cease also; but the capital would not be destroyed. It will remain in the country either in the pockets of the people if Government remitted taxation to that amount, or in the Indian exchequer if no such remission was made. In either case it would soon seek employment again, and either revive these sleeping activities or call forth new ones into existence. But the present system by which so much more business is apparently kept alive, is surely not a healthy way of developing a country's resources, or a reliable measure of its prosperity. It is flash. It means individual profit but national loss. It is the bounty system with all its faults.

One other point needs notice. Does anybody make a profit pure and simple out of this transaction; if so, who is it? The increase in the quantity of exports necessitated by the Home charges has the effect of overstocking the English market and bringing down their prices there. This has been strikingly illustrated in the case of Indian wheat, the large exports of which to England, under the protection of this virtual bounty, have brought down its gold price about 35 per cent. and driven American wheat out of the English market. The Indian exporter sells his wheat at this low price,

and yet no doubt gives a good account to himself of his profits over the sale. But who gets the benefit of that low price? Unquestionably the purchaser and the consumer of the wheat. This then is the consummation of the benefits of low or fluctuating exchange upon Indian finance and commerce. It has introduced an element of chance and uncertainty into the Indian Budget ; it has made capitalists unwilling to invest their money in silver, except at high rates of interest, and compelled the Indian Government to have recourse to sterling loans, thus adding to the burden of the Home charges ; it has, by the same neat stroke, added to the burden of taxation upon the Indian people ; it has given an unnatural stimulus to Indian production and trade ; and now it confers the only substantial benefit it is capable of conferring, upon—the foreign consumer.

H. M. PERCIVAL.

ART. VII.—BUDDHA AS A PHILOSOPHER.

PART II.

(Continued from the "Calcutta Review," January 1887, p. 35.)

THE main feature of Buddhistic philosophy is, as has already been indicated, the Doctrine of Impermanence, a doctrine of universal applicability,—applicable, as it is, to every type of formal existence, from the king of the highest heavens, Sakra or Brahma, down to the tiniest form of unorganized matter. The doctrine is therefore applicable to man, who is not only the summit of creation in this world, but who is a connecting link between the various orders of intelligences, higher and lower, inhabiting the regions of bliss above, and those of misery below it.

The whole texture of the Buddhistic system of speculative thought is obviously bizarre, but no portion of it is more so than its anthropology. A *resume* of what it says about man might justly be considered, even when presented with studied brevity, and shorn moreover of its most repellent features, both prolix and tedious; but the unreasonableness of the veneration or adulation lavished on the system cannot be set forth without a reference to details, which are sure to be denounced as rubbish of the coarsest kind.

Man, according to this system of philosophy, occupies a prominent place among things represented as "component," and therefore doomed to decay and dissolution. Man consists of five Skandhas or material aggregates, *viz.* (1) Rupa or material properties or attributes, (2) Vedana or Sensation, (3) Sanna or Abstract Ideas, (4) Sankhara or Tendencies or Potentialities, and (5) Vinnana or Thought or Reason. The original words have been differently translated by different authors, but we have adopted Rhys Davids' renderings as improvements upon those of his predecessors.

I. The material properties are twenty-eight in number; and they are thus classified by the abovenamed orientalist:—

Four elements ;—earth, water, fire, air.

Five organs of sense ;—eye, ear, nose, tongue, body.

Five attributes of matter ;—form, sound, smell, taste, substance.

Two distinctions of sex ;—male, female.

Three essential conditions ;—thought, vitality, space.

Two means of communication ;—gesture and speech.

Seven qualities of living bodies ;—buoyancy, elasticity, power of adaptation, power of aggregation, duration, decay, change.

A few quotations from Hardy's translations as embodied in the portion of his "Manual of Buddhism" entitled—"The

Ontology of Buddhism," will make the classification clear, as well as set forth the irresistible tendency of all oriental philosophy to present dreams of the wildest kind as facts of science!

For instance, it is distinctly affirmed that the four elements mentioned are to be found *unmixed* in the different component parts of the body. Twenty of these parts are formed of the first of these elements, the earth, *viz.* "the hair of the head, the hair of the body, the nails, the teeth, the skin, the flesh, the veins, the bones, the marrow, the kidneys, the heart, the liver, the abdomen, the spleen, the lungs, the intestines, the lower intestines, the stomach, the fæces, and the brain." Of water, it is said—"The parts of the body that are formed of this element are twelve in number, *viz.*, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, saliva, mucus, the oil that lubricates the joints, and urine." Regarding fire we have the scientific statement—"There are four kinds of fire in the body, *viz.*, the fire that prevents it from putrifying, as salt prevents the corruption of flesh; the fire arising from sorrow, that causes the body to waste away as if it were burnt, the fire that produces decay and infirmity; and the fire in the stomach that consumes the food." Six different kinds of wind in the body are alluded to;—"that (which) ascends from the two feet to the head, and causes vomiting, hiccough, &c.," "that (which) descends from the head to the two feet, and expels the feces and urine;" "the inspirated and exspirated breath;" the wind "in the stomach and abdomen exterior to the intestines;" the wind "within the intestines;" "that (which) pervades the whole body, being conveyed in vessels like the veins, and imparts the power by which the hand or foot, or any other member is moved." The Vedantic philosophy presents a similar variety of airs; while the following sentiments may be evolved from the existing records of the Logical schools:—"The element of earth may be distinguished by its smell; water by its taste; fire by its light; and wind by its sound. Thus one element is perceived by the nose, another by the tongue, another by the eye, and the fourth by the ear."

The second class in the enumeration, the five organs of senses have really nothing good in them, and are sources of nothing but mischief. They have the following certificate given them:—"As the naga (serpent) alligator, bird, dog, or jackal goes to the ant's nest, the water, the sky, the village, or the country, in search of food; so the five senses go out after the various objects that are united to their particular nature. The eye is like a serpent in an ant-hill; the ear is like an alligator lurking in a hole or cave filled with water; the nose like a bird flying through the air to catch flies; the tongue,

ready for all flavors that are presented to it, is like a dog watching for offal at the door of the kitchen or some other part of the village ; and the body, gratified by that with which it comes in contact, is like a jackal feeding with delight on a putrid carcass." That the senses, 'when properly regulated and controlled, might prove sources of pure and elevating delight, was ignored, not only by the ancient philosophers of our country, but by ancient philosophy in general.

The third set, called attributes of matter, are material evolutes, subtle forms, somewhat, if not precisely, like the tenuous powers of sense in Sankhya philosophy. The word "form" is used for "the power of sight," or simply sight, as it is called in the records of that philosophy ; and the word substance, as meaning "the powers of contact" or touch. The fourth set consist of manhood and womanhood, two distinctive material powers rather than abstractions.

In the fifth set, the word "thought" stands for the heart which is believed to be the seat of thought ; the word "vitality" for what is called the vital force ; and the word "space" for the "nine apertures, vacuities, or spaces of the body ;—the orifices of the ears, the nostrils, the mouth, the throat, the orifices whence proceed the feces and the urine, the stomach and the intestines."

"Gesture" in the sixth class means the power of making our thoughts known by signs, and "speech" the power of speech—both material evolutes.

And the last class consist of subtle material powers, and these are intelligible enough to render comment superfluous.

II.—The second class of aggregates are thus specified by Rhys Davids :—"The sensations (vedana) are divided into six classes, according as they are received immediately by each of the five senses, or sixthly by the mind (through memory) ; and further into eighteen classes, as each of these six classes may be agreeable, disagreeable, or indifferent." It ought to be noted here that the sensations are regarded more as material evolutes issuing from the senses, when these come in contact with their appropriate objects, than as states of the mind occasioned either by these objects themselves, or by the nerve-vibrations caused by them in the various organs of sense.

III.—The same authority thus characterizes the third aggregate or abstract ideas :—These (sanna) "are, divided into six classes corresponding to the six classes of sensations ; for instance the ideas blue, a tree, are classed under sight, the idea sweetness under taste, and so on." They are also material evolutes, subtler than sensations.

IV.—The fourth aggregate, Samkhara or potentialities, consists of no less than fifty-two different classes or sub-divisions.

It is not necessary to enumerate them all ; but it is desirable to refer to some features of this aggregate as fitted to set forth the want of precision and cohesiveness by which all classifications in oriental philosophy are characterized. Several of the sub-divisions in the foregoing aggregates are repeated here ; but nothing is distinctly said to indicate such diversity of meaning as may justify the repetition. Again, moral principles and material properties are jumbled together without any discrimination whatever ; and the procedure in such unwarantable admixture can be justified only, when the Buddhistic non-recognition of any distinction between matter and mind is taken into consideration. And lastly, the vocabulary pressed into service is as decidedly devoid of precision and accuracy as the classification itself, words or terms being used as significative of tempers of the mind which indicate nothing more than its particular acts, such as "investigation" for the power of investigation, and "effort" for the power to put forth efforts.

This numeration, as well as the whole set of which it is a unit or link, makes it plain that the Buddhistic philosophy is undiluted empiricism, inasmuch as it involves the negation of innate ideas, and traces all our thoughts, feelings and volitions to external objects, or rather to a conjunction of external objects with internal powers. The first eight items of this enumeration prove this to a demonstration. As given by Rhys Davids in his small volume entitled "Buddhism" they are—

1. Contact (*Phassa*).
2. The Resulting Sensation (*Vedana*).
3. Abstract Ideas formed on Sensation (*Sanna*).
4. Thought (the regrouping of ideas) (*Chetana*).
5. Reflection, turning these groups over and over (*Manasikara*).
6. Memory (*Sati*).
7. Vitality (*Jivitindriya*).
8. Individuality (*Ekaggata*).

Here it is to be noticed that all those processes, which are generally represented as mental, and two principles, which are looked upon as simple and undiscribable and abiding in what is called their onflow, are the results of impressions made by external objects. The series begins with contact, which means the conjunction of an organ of sense with one of its appropriate objects. The sensation necessarily follows as soon as the conjunction is realized ; and it gives birth to an abstract idea or a series of abstract ideas, evolved by a mental process necessitated by it. Then come, by a similar process, proper classifications of these ideal units ; and then comes the operation of their being revolved in, and impressed upon the mind ; and ultimately memory appears to revive them when needed, or when influenced by the law of contiguity or association.

Thus far the series proceeds rationally. But the puzzling

question rises, how is vitality, vital force, or the principle of life, to be regarded as the product of these mental operations? And how individuality, the abiding substrate of these operations? To settle these questions let us fall back upon what is said about these two principles in Hardy's translations already laid under contribution :—“ Jivitindriya (vitality), that which is the principle of life, sustaining the co-existent, incorporeal faculties, as water sustains the lotus. Ekaggata (individuality), that which is the centre of the phassa and other faculties of discrimination, uniting them together, and causing them to be one, as when a King surrounded by a numerous army, goes to war, he alone is the centre and guide of the whole host.” From these statements it would appear that the terms “vitality” and “individuality” were employed to indicate substances or forces, rather than ideas. The context, however, proves that ideas are represented, rather than the subtle force we understand by vitality, and the essence which is the groundwork of individuality, and that these being after all material evolutes, may be described as tenuous substances.

Our idea of life in the first place, or our settled belief in our existence, proceed from the mental operations detailed, the operations which begin with contact and terminate in memory. Do we not see here the celebrated enthymeme of Descartes, *Cogitum ergo sum* anticipated, and the truth maintained, that our consciousness of thought in the most comprehensive sense of the term,—as inclusive of all varieties of mental states, thinking, feeling and willing—necessarily leads to a belief in our existence. And our notion of individuality springs from such belief, as we cannot but differentiate ourselves as thinking beings from others into whose thinking we obtain an insight through external signs and gestures, as well as spoken words in which unseen ideas are incarnated; and from those in whom or which we can recognize nothing like a process of thought. These two ideas then are the basis of our egoism or the notion “I.” This notion, however, is inaccurate, except in a vulgar sense, according to Buddha's philosophy; and therefore this duad of ideas, though implanted in the mind naturally by its own processes, is an illusion to be cast off. The illusion itself, as a material evolute, may be a thin, particle of matter, and justly represented as substantial in its constitution, though unsubstantial as regards the beliefs and promises it engenders and holds out.

That we should have in this aggregate such mental affections as “steadfastness,” “joy,” “indifference,” “stupidity” and “intelligence,” “covetousness and content,” “fear and rashness,” “shame and shamelessness,” “hatred and affection,” might be expected; but who would expect to find among the potentialities

of the mind such things as "repose of body and mind," "elasticity of body and mind," "dexterity of body and mind," "straightness of body and mind"? The Indian devotee sees nothing but congruity in this heterogenous mixture, because in his opinion, body and soul not merely interpenetrate and interact on each other, but constitute one essence, or are one and the same thing. And he naturally endeavours to ensure by corporeal exercises, or mere external appliances, elasticity, pliancy or softness to his body, believing that the corresponding changes in his mind must necessarily follow!

The fifth or last aggregate is called "thought" or "reason" by Rhys Davids, but "consciousness" by Spence Hardy. In this group we find multifarious mental states associated with merit or demerit, and such rareties as *eye-consciousness* "in the eye about the size of a louse's head;" *ear-consciousness*, "in shape like a thin copper ring, or like a lock of copper colored curled hair, or a finger covered with rings;" *tongue-consciousness* "in the tongue, like the petal of a water lily in appearance;" and *body-consciousness*, the appearance and size of which are not indicated. The varied elements of this group are no less than eighty-nine in number.

With reference to these aggregates which jointly constitute all that is in man, his tripartite or—to adopt a theological term—trichotomous nature, or body, soul, and spirit, it should never be forgotten that they are with all their constituent elements, both impermanent and fluxional. Their evanescence is set forth in the following string of figures translated by Hardy:—"The Rupaskandhas are like a mass of foam that gradually forms and vanishes. The Vedana-skandhas are like a bubble dancing upon the surface of the water. The Sanna-skhandhas are like the uncertain mirage that appears in the sunshine. The Sankhara-skandhas are like the plantain tree without firmness and solidity. And the vinnana-skandhas are like a spectre or magical illusion. In this manner is declared the impermanence of the five-skandhas."

Here it is desirable to raise and dispose of a question: Does the Buddhistic scheme of thought possess an abiding principle by which these aggregates, with all their component elements, are unified or gathered into a personal unity? Is a unitary subject of physical vitality, intellectual energy, and moral earnestness assumed as the permanent substrate of these groups, or in plainer terms, did Buddha uphold our instinctive belief in the existence of the human soul? Our answer, and that of all who have studied the system carefully cannot but be—No.

Buddhism in the first place deprecates all speculation on the subject as irrelevant to the duties of life, and therefore useless

and pernicious. In the *Sabhasava-sutta*,—one of the original documents translated by Rhys Davids and presented in vol. XI. of "Sacred Books of the East"—a broad line of demarcation is drawn between "the things which ought not to be considered" and "those things which should be considered," and all questions about the existence of "a self" are classed with the former. The following passage may be brought forward in support of this assertion :—

" Unwisely doth he consider thus :— .

" Have I existed during the ages that are past or have I not ? What was I during the ages that are past ? How was I during the ages that are past ? Having been what, what did I become during the ages that are past ? Shall I exist during the ages of the future or shall I not ? What shall I be during the ages of the future ? How shall I be during the ages of the future ? Having been what, what shall I become during the ages of the future ?

Or he debates within himself as to the present. Do I, after all exist, or am I not ? How am I ? This is a being ; whence now did it come, and whither will it go ?

In him, thus unwisely considering, there springs up one or other of the (absurd) notions.

As something true and real he gets the notion, " I have a self ! "

As something true and real he gets the notion, " I have not a self ! "

As something true and real he gets the notion, " By myself, I am conscious of myself ! "

As something true and real he gets the notion, " By myself, I am conscious of my non-self."

Or again he gets the notion, " This soul of mine can be perceived, it has experienced the result of good and bad notions committed here and there : now this soul of mine is permanent, lasting, eternal, has the inherent quality of never changing, and will continue for ever and ever ! "

" This, brethren, is called the walking in delusion, the jungle of delusion, the wilderness of delusion ; the puppet-show of delusion, the writhing of delusion, the fetter of delusion.

" Bound, brethren, with this fetter of delusion, the ignorant unconverted man becomes not freed from truth, decay and death, from sorrows, lamentations, pains and griefs, and from expedients (sacrifices, &c.,)—he does not become free, I say, from pain."

This passage gives the lie to the assertion that Buddha was the first person to set the example of philosophical meditation in India, inasmuch as, the great problems of existence, which he simply deprecated, were in his age earnestly discussed by many lofty intellects. It also proves that he earnestly dissuaded his followers from getting entangled in the controversies afloat by representing these as, not merely useless, but

fitted to neutralize the great object of life—deliverance from pain.

Did Buddha, then, relegate the important question of the existence of the soul to the region of the unknowable? No: He positively asserted the non-existence of the soul, and represented belief in its existence as a delusion from which deliverance ought to be secured. In the document quoted above, we have the wise devotee depicted in these words :—“He considers, “This is suffering.” He considers, “this is the origin of suffering.” He considers, “this is the cessation of suffering.” He considers, “This, the way which leads to the cessation of suffering.” And from him, thus considering, the three fetters fall away—the delusion of self, hesitation, and dependence on rites and ceremonies.”

In the concluding Appendix of Hardy’s “Legends and Theories of the Buddhists,” the author presents some extracts from the writings of the Rev D. J. Gogerly, whose phraseology he admittedly adopts in his dissertation on Buddhistic philosophy. Regarding this well-known author, Hardy says—“The rare powers of mind possessed by my gifted predecessor and lamented friend, were never seen to greater advantage than when seeking to unravel the intricate web of Buddhist metaphysics. His discoveries took the priests by surprise; but there are none of authority who now dispute his conclusions.” One or two quotations from the writings of an author so deservedly praised will show the emphasis and authority with which Buddha denied the existence of the soul. Says he :—

“But Buddha denies the existence of a soul, or any thing concerning which a man may say, this is (1) myself; and (2) states that what by accommodation may be called the man is ever fluctuating, never at two given periods the same, although not properly different. Of this peculiar doctrine of identity I will endeavour to give a brief explanation. The following is a close translation of part of a discourse in the Sanyutto division (of Sutta Pitaka). “The soul, Priests, is variously considered by some recluses and Brahmins; but they all regard it as united to the five Skundhas, or with one of the five. What are the five? The sensual and unlearned man considers (1) body to be the soul, or (2) that the soul possesses corporeity, or (3) that body emanates from the soul, or (4) that the soul resides in the body. Or they regard (5) sensation to be the soul, or (6) that the soul possesses sensation, or (7) that sensation emanates from the soul, or (8) that the soul resides in the sensations. Or they regard (9) perception to be the soul, &c. Or they regard (13) thought to be the soul, &c. Or they regard (17) consciousness to be the soul, &c., (making twenty opinions). In consequence of these considerations they come

to the conclusion, 'I am' (*asmi*). Now, priests, *I am* is the state of having the soul. The five organs (*indriyani*), namely, the organ of the eye, of the ear, of the nose, of the tongue and of the body are conceived (in the womb or otherwise). There is consciousness (*mano*) ; there is dharma (the three skandhas of of sensation, perception and thought) ; there is the base of wisdom (*wijja dhatu*). The unlearned and sensual man being affected by the sensations resulting from ignorance, thinks 'I am,' 'this is I.' But concerning these the learned disciple of Buddha, being separated from ignorance, and obtaining wisdom, does not think 'I am,' or 'this is I.'

The same author quotes an approved formula in the original, and translates it (verbatim) thus :—" Body, priests, is impermanent ; is anything impermanent, that is sorrow (substantially and naturally so) ; is any thing sorrow, that is not the soul (not *atta*, the *self*) ; is anything not the self, (*i.e.*, *rupa* *beda*, &c., &c.) that is not mine, I am not it, it is not my soul."

The learned author concludes his argument with these words :—" In a discourse addressed to a person named Sona, he (Buddha), is if possible, more definite ; he says, If there be any organized form, sensation, perception, thought, or consciousness, past, future or present, internal or external, remote or proximate, of all it should be clearly or distinctly known. This is not mine, I am not it, it is not to me a soul. The learned disciple of Buddha understanding this is weaned from attachment to body, sensation, perception, thought and consciousness"—The *Ceylon Friend*, vol. II, No. 5.

Again dialogues are presented in Buddhist philosophical treatises eminently fitted to set forth the Buddhist negation of soul or self. The conversations between Milinda *alias* Menander, the Greek king of Sagala in the Punjab, and Nagasena, a Buddhist priest, begin with what has been cited by every writer on Buddhism as a demonstration of Buddha's assumption of the non-existence of the soul. The king mentions successively the varied component parts of the priest's body, and enquires if each of these is Nagasena. The reply being in the negative, the king exclaims—" Then I do not see Nagasena. Nagasena is a mere sound without any meaning. You have spoken an untruth. There is no Nagasena." The priest philosopher retorts by enumerating the varied component parts of the chariot in which the king acknowledges to have come, and enquiring if each of these is the chariot. The King's answer of course is negative, and the king exclaims :—" Then I see no chariot ; it is only a sound, a name." The King admits his error, and the conclusion to which he is brought by the philosophic interlocutor, is pithily expressed in these words :—" As the various parts, the different adjuncts of a vehicle, form, when united, that which is

called a chariot ; so, when the five skandhas are united in one aggregate or body, they constitute that which is called a being, or living existence."

• Hardy presents, as an interlude, a dialogue between Buddha himself and a Tirthaka philosopher named Sachaka, which the latter begins with these words :—“ But you, Sir, deny that there is an atma (soul), that the being possesses a self ; you say that the five skandhas are *anatma* (without a soul,) unreal, without a self.” Buddha brings forward in reply an argument based on the alleged powerlessness of the entity, called the soul, its admitted inability to change our external form, to prove “ that the five skandhas are not the atma, the self, and that they exist without an atma.”

This portion of the subject ought not to be concluded without a reference to the evils which, according to Buddhism, the popular belief in the existence of the human soul engenders. It is in short the source of all that variety of sorrow and degradation, under which human beings groan, and from which the way of deliverance is pointed out by this system of faith. From the extracts embodied in the chapter “ On the soul” by Beal’s “ Buddhism in China,” let the following words be quoted :—“ This thought of self gives rise to all the sorrows which bind the world as with cords ; but having found there is no “ I ” that can be bound, then all these bonds are removed.”

The legitimate deduction from Buddha’s negation of the of the soul would obviously be set forth in the well-known word, death is “ the be-all and end-all ” of human existence. But such is by no means the case. Buddha was no more able to emancipate himself from the current belief in the doctrine of metempsychosis than the modern speculator is able to free himself from the influence of the modern belief in evolution. The doctrine, to which all the great schools of ancient Hindu philosophy, whether atheistic, theistic or pantheistic, whether monistic, dualistic or trialistic, give prominence, which colored and fashioned every scheme of speculative thought that prevailed in our country in primitive or prehistoric times, dominated the mind of our moral philosopher as thoroughly as belief in the Divinity of our Lord influences and controls the thought and life of the orthodox believer in Christianity. Buddha had to explain the existence of the accumulated load of sorrow which he made it the business of his life to remove ; and he had to account for those inequalities of life which the greatest philosophers have been apt to represent as unsolvable problems or inexplicable enigmas. And he most naturally adopted the explanation involved or embodied in the doctrine of transmigration. But he was penetrating enough to perceive, that he could not transfer the doctrine in its

existing form without producing a wrench in his own system of thought ; and consequently it was made to undergo a process of modification or metamorphosis, and thereby brought into harmony and correlation with the body of philosophic truth he promulgated. Transmigration in his system cannot possibly mean successive migrations of an abiding self from one material organisation to another, the existence of the soul being emphatically denied ; it means a series of new creations, rather than a series of translations from body to body. When man dies, the skandhas or aggregates of which he is composed, disintegrate, and are dispersed, and so far as his individuality is concerned, he ceases to be. But the work that he has done, not only during the period of the existence terminated by his death, but during the entire cycle of the existences connected with it, his karma, abides. And this stern, inflexible deity creates another set of skandhas, a new man so to speak, to exhaust its fruits, good or bad, or to receive its rewards or punishments. One or two extracts from Hardy's translations will make this manifest—

Again, the king said to Nagasena : "What is it that is conceived ?" Nagasena replied, "These two : nama and rupa." Milinda : "Are the same nama and rupa that are conceived here, or in the present birth, conceived elsewhere, or in another birth?" Nagasena : "No : this nama and rupa acquires karma, whether it be good or bad : and by means of this karma, another nama and rupa is produced." Milinda : "Then, if the same nama and rupa is not again produced, or conceived, that being is delivered from the consequences of sinful action." Nagasena : "How so ? if there be no future birth (that is, if Nirvana be attained) there is deliverance ; but if their be a future birth, deliverance from the consequences of sinful action does not necessarily follow. Thus a man steals a number of mangos, and takes them away ; but he is seized by the owner, who brings him before the King, and says, 'Sir, this man has stolen my mangos.' But the robber replies, 'I have not stolen his mangos ; the mango he set in the ground was one ; these mangos are other and different to that ; I do not deserve to be punished.' 'Now, your Majesty, would this plea be valid : would no punishment be deserved ?' Milinda : 'he would certainly deserve punishment.' Nagasena : 'Why ?' Milinda : 'Because, whatever he may say, the mangos he stole were the products of the mango originally set by the man from whom they were stolen, and therefore punishment ought to be inflicted.' Nagasena : 'In like manner, by means of the karma produced by this nama and rupa, another nama and rupa is caused ; there is therefore no deliverance (in this way) from the consequences of sinful action.'

The second extract explains the terms *nama* and *rupa* :—
 “The King said to Nagasena, ‘you have spoken of *nama* and *rupa*; what is the meaning of these terms?’ The priest replied, ‘that which has magnitude is *rupa*; *nama* is the exceedingly subtle faculty that exercises thought.’ Milinda, ‘How is it that *nama* and *rupa* are never produced separately?’ Nagasena: ‘They are connected with each other like the flower and perfume. And in this way: if no germ be formed in the fowl no egg is produced; in the ovarium of the fowl there is the germ and the shell, and these two are united to each other; their production is contemporaneous. In like manner, if there be no *nama*, there is there is no *rupa*; they are consociate; their existence is coeval; they accompany each other (as to the species but not as to the individual) during infinitude.’”

No philosophical definition of *karma* is given anywhere in Buddhist literature, though modern writers of a particular class have attempted what their ancient prototypes considered it superfluous to do. But all modern attempts to define it as inclusive of something more or less than the retributive influence or force emanating from the accumulated work done in all the series of lives united by it, in the case of a series of individuals created by it, are signal failures. *Karma* is after all a metaphysical entity; and it is worthy of consideration that even materialism of the grossest type cannot do without subsistences, or forces which ought to be relegated to the region of that science which the champions of Comptism would gladly see tabooed or proscribed. *Karma* discloses or unfolds what may be called its nature in passages like the following :—

“There has been laid up by Kunda the smith, a *karma* redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power” (*Mahaparinibana*).

“If a Bhikkhu should desire, brethren, to see with pure and heavenly vision surpassing that of men, beings as they pass from one stage of existence and take form in others; beings base or noble, good-looking or ill-famed, happy or miserable, according to the *karma* they inherit—if he should desire to be able to say)—“These beings, reverend Sir, by their bad conduct in action, by their bad conduct in word, by their bad conduct in thought, by their evil-speaking of the noble ones, by their adhesion to false doctrines or by their acquiring the *karma* of false doctrine, have been re-born on the dissolution of the body after death, in some unhappy state of suffering or woe. These beings, reverend Sirs, by their good conduct in action, by their good conduct in word, by their good conduct

in thought, by their not speaking evil of the noble ones, by their adhesion to right doctrine, by their acquiring the karma of right doctrine, have been re-born on the dissolution of the body after death, into some happy state and heaven ;"—* * *

But karma in the case of an individual, if not in the case of the species, is by no means a permanent entity. It is exhausted when its fruits are exhausted ; and the series of creations it commences and carries on, is consummated and brought to an end. The creator dies, creation ceases, and existence is terminated in non-existence or annihilation ! This is *Narvana*.

Regarding the meaning of this term a controversy more or less animated has been waged among oriental scholars, as well as as among laymen. Some have represented it as meaning nothing less than complete cessation of being, with extinction of sentient life, absolute non-existence, perfect annihilation ; while others have held it up as significative of a state of meditative repose, perfect serenity of thought and feeling, imperturbable stillness in the contemplation of realities loftier than this world can present, and even uninterrupted communion with God and divine things, while it is worthy of remark that texts and passages can be quoted by the score in support of either of these two interpretations. It is not necessary to prove this by chapter and verse, or to select and present texts first in support of the annihilistic interpretation, and then of that which represents the state of Nirvana as simply a state of quiescence or serene repose compassed or brought on by the complete abstraction of the mind from the things of this world, and its concentration on "things above." It is not at all difficult to prove that both the parties are at one and the same time both right and wrong. They are right in the selection and presentation of the passages behind which either of the debating parties is entrenched, and they are right in holding either party their own construction. But they are wrong in not noticing a distinction prominently brought forward in Buddhist speculations and statements on the subject. There are two conditions or states indicated by the term Nirvana, a preparatory state and a final state ; and passages are somewhat promiscuously heaped together in praise of either of these two conditions. There is a Nirvana attainable in this life, called by Hindu philosophers *jivan-mukti*, and this is certainly a state of imperturbable repose, unruffled serenity, complete stillness of thought, and feeling, perfect quietism. But this state is not the *summum bonum*. Buddhist devotees are in quest of, though its necessary precondition. The *summum bonum* is the Nirvana which means the complete extinction of sentient life, the putting out, as the etymology of the word indicates, of the lamp of consciousness, and physical and moral being, *annihilation*.

We find this opinion, formed after a careful study of Hindu philosophy in which both these states play so important a part, and after a careful collation of the numerous texts affecting both sides of the question, confirmed in a passage quoted from Abhidhammatha Sangaha by Spence Hardy in his treatise entitled—"The Legends and Theories of the Buddhists." It runs thus :—"Nibhana or Nirvana is perceived by means of the knowledge derived from the four paths (leading to itself) which are denominated lokottara, pre-eminently excellent. To the four paths it is attached. It is called Nirvana, because it is free from vana, attachment or desire. This is one view of it. It is divided into two sections, sawupadisesa and anupadisesa. It is also sunyata, void ; animitta, unreal ; and apani-hita, unexpectant, passionless. Upadisesa signifies the five skandhas, and it is so called because only the five skandhas are left, without any attachments or desire. It is said to be sawupadisesa, as having the five skandhas. It may be said of the Rahat, that he has attained the Nirvana, though he still lives. He, who is anupadisesa has not the five skandhas. This is the state of the Buddhas, and of all who are free from the five skandhas. The great rishis, who are free from vana, desire, call that Nirvana, which is achutan, that from which there is no going, (no transmigration) ; achchantana, that which has no boundary (neither birth nor death); asankhatana, that which is not affected by cause or effect ; anuttara, that to which there is nothing superior ; and padan, that which has nothing to excel it as an advantage."

Writers like Hardy and Bigandate are right when they affirm that Buddha's system of thought leads us by miserable logic to the conclusion that Nirvana is annihilation. According to Buddhistic philosophy, existence and pain are inseparable, just as according to varied ancient schemes of thought and speculation, in and out of the country, matter and sin are inseparable. The great object of Buddhism as a creed, or the *summum bonum* to which it calls upon its followers to aspire is complete deliverance from pain. But such deliverance cannot, according to the hypothesis on which the entire system is based, be attained so long as existence maintains its ground. Non-existence, therefore, must be the highest aim of all the privations, sacrifices and toils through which the Buddhist devotee is called upon to pass. Again, according to Buddhism, Karma is properly speaking the creator of man. Karina, as defined in Buddhistic literature, cannot be eternal. As an influence, or law, or power emanating from human actions, it must have had a beginning, and the question how the first man, whose actions called this demon into existence, came into being, is perhaps, designedly kept unsettled in Buddhistic

literature. The question of the origin of the human species is, properly speaking, set aside, but the present existence of every man is equivocally traced to his Karma which, when he dies and his component aggregates are dispersed, brings a new set into existence or creates a new man to exhaust its fruits. These, however, are terminable, and, when after a long series of transmigrations, they are exhausted, the omnific principle dies, and fresh creation comes to an end. The individual, therefore, sinks into non-existence or annihilation.

This argument may be put in another form. Buddha denies most emphatically the existence of a permanent self or soul. Man, according to his accredited teaching, is nothing more than a conglomerate of material aggregates, which are disintegrated and dispersed when he dies. But as long as his Karma lives, new sets of aggregates are grouped, and in a loose sense, he is revived. But Karma is neither beginningless nor endless, and so in process of time the monster dies. The last set of aggregates which have the satisfaction of killing Karma by dint of virtue and meditation are also decomposed and dispersed ; and when this consummation is realised, nothing remains. Annihilation is the goal towards which the system necessarily leads, if not drives man.

There is an *a priori* objection to this view of the *summum bonum* of Buddhism, which ought to be stated and rebutted. It is nowhere presented with greater ability and, we must add, flippancy than in a passage in Blackie's "Natural History of Atheism." The passage runs thus :— "We have given these passages at length that the reader may perceive how far from true their assertion is, who tell us that the Buddhist finds his highest bliss in the prospect of annihilation. People ought to have thought ten times before they allowed themselves to father on the founder of a great popular religion any such absurdity. Had Buddha really, like the ancient Hebrews, meant to ignore a future life in the enunciation of his law, he would simply have said nothing about it ; but he never would have come forward, inducing men to become his disciples by proclaiming—

"O sin-laden creatures, and miserable mortals, attend carefully. I, Buddha, am now revealed, ready to open the gates of annihilation to all flesh."

The objection is based on the admitted impossibility of rendering a religion with so chilling and paralyzing a doctrine popular ; but the parties by whom it is triumphantly brought forward as subversive of the annihilistic view of Nervana, overlook a point of the greatest importance. Buddhism, like Hinduism, has, as has already been shown, a popular and a philosophical side ; and its great doctrine of annihilation-

appears half concealed or scarcely visible behind an elongated series of heavens and hells eminently fitted to work upon the hopes and fears of the popular mind. The *summum bonum* of Buddhism, as also of Hinduism, is studiously kept in the background, while the uninitiated multitudes or masses are attracted towards it by all that is eminently fitted to appeal to their moral sense, gratify their prurient fancy, and call into vigorous play their undescerning religious susceptibilities. The doctrine is unfolded only in the presence of the initiated few ; and the history of the world proves, that the naked absurdity of a theory is no bar to its acceptance by men, who allow themselves to be carried with their hands and feet bound by the spirit of wild speculation. If a number of speculators and lazy mendicants could be persuaded that they could not possibly get rid of pain without in the first place getting rid of existence, they would gladly hail annihilation as the highest good, the greatest of blessings !

The question how a system of religion, which poured contempt on some of the irrepressible moral instincts of humanity—denying the truth of all truth, the existence of a God—became popular, and extended far and wide, cannot be set at rest except by a reference to its dual nature, its accommodation to popular fancies and traditions on the one hand, and its inculcation of a peculiarly intricate philosophy on the other. Nay, it might be, like Hinduism, appropriately represented as many-sided, fitted to attract the imaginative by its romantic literature, the devout by its imposing ritual, the ascetic by its systematized monasticism, and the inquisitive by its recondite philosophy.

But here the question must be raised—Was Buddha atheistic or simply agnostic in his principles? Rhys Davids calls him “the great agnostic of Asia,” and the majority by far of the writers who have dabbled with Buddhist literature have represented him, with emphasis, as one of the earliest champions, if not the father, of agnostic philosophy. We have in these papers used the terms agnosticism and atheism as interchangeable, and have not scrupled to represent our hero now as an agnostic and then as an atheist. But our decided conviction is, that his attitude was that of rank atheism. He doubtless did at times occupy the modest standpoint of an agnostic philosopher by deprecating all enquiry or investigation about the soul and about God ; but when he claimed omniscience, he advanced a great many steps beyond that position. There was nothing of which he could properly be represented as ignorant, and his assumed agnosis, became omni-gnosis. Foster’s argument against atheism, as contradistinguished from agnosticism, is too well known to need reproduction. Man

cannot, with philosophical fairness, say there is no God. He has not searched every nook and corner of the universe. He has not examined every link in the succession of events which bridge the chasm of past eternity ; and his foresight is too limited to admit of his having a perfect knowledge of those which are to be unfolded during the endless ages of the eternity before him. Nor does he know all the orders of being in the universe, all varieties of powers and agencies and forces and laws. His stupendous ignorance can only justify in his case the modest assertion that he does not find traces of God's existence within the narrow range of his limited experience. But such ignorance was removed in the case of Buddha by meditation, and he knew every thing. He had searched every nook and corner of the universe, and found no God anywhere. His eyes had ranged over the amplitudes, so to speak, of the past and the future eternity, and found no traces of a God. He had cultivated a sort of personal acquaintance with all orders of beings and agencies in the universe, and was sure that no one of these was God. He had, therefore, a perfect right to deny, with philosophical fairness, the existence of a God. A man, says Foster, must be a God to be able to deny the existence of a God ;—Buddha was a God, and when he said he had not discovered anywhere the traces of a God, the conclusion is irresistible—**THERE IS NO GOD.!**

Such are the "Right Views" of the universe, of man, his constitution, and his prospects with which the Buddhistic devotee begins his career of reform and from these, as the lowest step of the ladder of progress, he rises, through the successive steps of right feelings, right words, right behaviour, right mode of livelihood, right exertion, and right memory, up to the highest, right meditation and tranquility. The dissertations on meditation embodied in Buddhist literature are not materially different from those intertwined with Yoga philosophy ; and its earthly fruits are the same according to both these systems of thought, as will appear from the following extract from Akankheyya Sutta :—" If a Bhikkhu should desire, brethren, to exercise one by one each of the different iddhis (powers), being one, to become multiform, being multiform to become one ; to become visible, or to become invisible ; to go without being stopped to the further side of a wall or a fence, or a mountain, as if through the air ; to penetrate up and down through solid ground as if through water ; to walk on the water without dividing it, as if on solid ground ; to travel cross-legged through the sky like the birds on wing ; to touch and feel with the hand even the sun and moon, mighty and powerful though they be ; and to reach in the body up to even the heaven of Brahma ; let him then

fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone."

It is desirable to indicate, before we conclude, the place the Buddhistic scheme of thought occupies among the philosophical or scientific *isms* of the day—How is the system to be characterized? Shall we call it nihilism, or materialism, or pantheism, or illusionism? It is a matter of fact that four distinctive schools of philosophy sprang from Buddhism? These are indicated thus in the paper in the *Sarva-Darsana-sangraha* entitled "the Baudha System":—"These same Buddhas discuss the highest end of man from four standpoints, celebrated under the designations of Madhyamika, Yogachara, Santrantika, and Vaibhashika. These Buddhists adopt respectively the doctrines of universal void (nihilism) an external void (subjective idealism), the inferrability of external objects (representationism) and the perceptibility of external objects (presentationism)." Of these four schemes of speculation, that indicated by the term nihilism or universal voidism, has been traced by many thoughtful writers, such as the author of the well-known and excellent book entitled "Christ and Other Masters," directly to Buddha himself. And, in a very important point of the view, they are right. Buddha seems at times to posit an eternal, abiding substance of which the objects of creation are represented as transient or illusory modes or forms; but at times he speaks as if he believed in nothing but an eternal void as the *ultima thule* of his system. And even when he speaks of the glories of creation as issuing out of, and being again merged into, something abiding as a permanent substrate, the underlying substance is left indeterminate and undefined, insomuch that it is absolutely impossible to discriminate between the entity and nonentity. His system may be justly represented as an off-shoot of the Sankhya school of the atheistic type; but the trinitarian ultimate of that school, its *Prakriti*, consisting of the "coids," sattva, rajas and tamas held in equipoise, is thrown into the background, if not positively repudiated in his scheme; and no clue can be discovered to what he thought of the ultimates or ultimate of creation. It may, however, be safely assumed that his mind oscillated between nihilism and a subtle species of materialism, and that it ultimately settled down into the latter form of philosophic speculation.

Our task is done. We have in this series of papers proved that Buddha presented a lofty but mutilated character, and that both as a moralist and as a philosopher, He was egregiously mistaken. The corollary from this thesis is, that the

incense of praise lavished on him and his system in these days is, on the whole, thrown away. The most preposterous conclusion of modern times is that which represents Christianity as an evolution from Buddhism, inasmuch as it is tantamount to the paradox, that optimism is an offshoot of, not a recoil from, or a reaction against pessimism. The different points of contrast between the two systems are nowhere presented so exhaustively, within a narrow compass, as in the following words transcribed from Bishop Titcomb's excellent little treatise entitled "Short Chapters on Buddhism":—"Buddhism is the religion of despair, Christianity of hope. Buddhism is the religion of self-dependence; Christianity of self-distrust. The more Buddhism is followed conscientiously, the more must it foster pride. The more Christianity is followed conscientiously, the more it must produce humility. Buddhism by its philosophical culture, removes man more and more from humanity; Christianity, the more it is cultivated, makes a man the more akin to humanity. Buddhism flourishes only in Asia; Christianity is flourishing in all quarters of the globe. Buddhism has no power of assimilating itself to the progress of modern cultivation; Christianity has the power of assimilating itself to every condition of society; and of making progress alike with barbarous nations as with the most educated and admired."

RAM CHANDRA BOSE.

ART. VIII.—THE EDUCATION CODE FOR EUROPEAN SCHOOLS IN BENGAL.

IN dealing with the subject of the education of Europeans in India, it would not be out of place to give a short history of the introduction of the Code for European schools here. Before its adoption in 1883, Government aid had been confined almost exclusively to schools for Natives; but it became apparent that the European community in India was growing rapidly into a power, and far-seeing statesmen like Lord Canning placed on record their opinion, that it rested with the Government to decide whether that power shall be a source of safety and strength to the State, by being duly fostered, or of danger to it, by being neglected. That non-official Europeans formed an essential portion of the body politic in India, had long been ignored, but the time had arrived when their position had to be recognized as part and parcel of the heterogenous masses sometimes designated the "nation of India," and who, as such, had an equal claim as others to the patronage of Government and to pecuniary State aid. Prominent among those who moved in the cause of the domiciled European community must stand the name of the Venerable Archdeacon Baly. His memorable essay on the "Poor Whites of India," delivered in the Town Hall to the members of the "British Indian Association," most lucidly and powerfully set forth their case, and his loud advocacy of their claims during his official tours through various parts of India, together with the representations made by the "Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association" which came into existence in 1876, drew the attention of Government to the important question of their education, and the Governor-General in Council, in a resolution dated the 8th October 1881, "appointed a Committee to draft a Code for regulating the conduct of European education in the Bengal Presidency, so far as this is dependent upon Government support." This Committee consisted of A. W. Croft, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, as president; and as members, the Venerable Archdeacon Baly, the Very Reverend Father Van Impe, Rector of St. Xavier's College, and the Reverend James Robertson, Principal of the Free Church College, Calcutta, and late Principal of the Doveton College: the place of Father Impe was subsequently filled by the Reverend Father E. Lafont. The Committee were also assisted in their labours by the co-operation of the following Inspectors of Schools, Messrs A. W. Garrett, F. Rowe, and A. M. Nash.

As to the means adopted to obtain the opinion of experts they state in their report to Government, dated the 17th July 1882—"The standards of examination which we propose to adopt were sent to the Directors of Public Instruction in the different provinces to which the Code is intended to apply, as well as to the managers of all European schools in those provinces, with the object of obtaining an expression of their views upon our proposals. We also took the opportunity of consulting those Educational Officers from Bombay and Madras who were present at Calcutta during the cold weather, as members of the Education Commission. The majority of those whom we consulted approved entirely of the Standards proposed, and all were willing to accept them with modifications. Of the many valuable suggestions that we received, the most important have been adopted." Besides, in Calcutta, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Rowe visited some of the principal public schools for Europeans, in order to find out what standards of instruction already prevailed in them.

From what has been said it will be abundantly clear that in framing the Code, the Government have been sufficiently careful to select the best men available for the purpose, and that they in their turn have utilized all the help and information within their reach to complete the important work entrusted to them. Notwithstanding, that the Code is all that may be desired or could be devised, few would venture to assert; nor is it my intention in these pages to vindicate it in all its parts, but I trust I shall be able to shew that it is not open to much of the adverse criticism it has received at the hands of Mr. G. S. Gasper, in Article VIII of the January (1887) number of this Review.

(1) The writer takes exception to the term "European" as applied in the Code "to a very undefinable class." His way out of the difficulty is to render the term still more undefinable, by making it include "such foreigners as Armenians, Greeks, and Burmese." As a matter of fact Greeks are not excluded as they are "of European descent" in accordance with the terms of the Code, which also says, "Armenians, who are naturalized British subjects, will be considered as Europeans." The contention, therefore, stands only in favour of Burmese. With regard to these also the Code has a provision, and it applies to other Asiatics likewise, such as Chinese, Parsees and natives of India. It says, "the Code does not prohibit the admission of non-Europeans into European schools, provided that their number does not exceed one-fourth of the total number of scholars (Article 6 c.), but it does not allow them to earn grants." This satisfies, or at least should satisfy, both teachers and parents. It would be unfair to the former to exclude from

their schools, pupils who pay well in order that they may have the advantage of being associated with European children, and so acquire more readily their habits and manners, and learn their language not only through the medium of a teacher, but by familiar intercourse with companions on the play-ground and in the school-room, where the greatest difficulty of foreigners can most easily be overcome, namely, the learning of idiomatic, colloquial English. Nor is the exclusion from earning grants a hardship in the case of those who are both able and willing to pay for the privilege they seek. On the other hand, European parents are very averse to their children being brought into contact with others who differ widely from them not merely in language, modes of thought, and habits of life, but also in religion, for while they have nothing to gain by such fellowship, they have much to lose. Why, at all, are schools established exclusively for Europeans? Why have schools like the Doveton and others struggled on for an existence for so many years, while flourishing schools and colleges for Natives, with splendid accommodation, the most complete appliances and apparatus for imparting instruction, and thoroughly efficient teachers and Professors, are within reach? Why has Government at last yielded to the public demand and provided separate schools for Europeans, as it has done so long for Hindoos and Mahomedans? Simply because the fact has been realized, that natives and Europeans, Heathen and Christian, under existing conditions, will not, if they can help it, be educated side by side, and cannot, so long as education means the development of the mental, physical and moral constitution. Why should a teacher or a parent thrust that position on a child in school which neither will tolerate in the atmosphere of the social or domestic circle? Call it conscientious scruple, or by whatever name it has pleased men from time to time to call it, but the fact cannot be denied that it has been one of the greatest barriers which has divided man from man; and if the gulf has to be bridged over in India, school is certainly no place to try the experiment. The two divergent streams of Western and Eastern thought are doubtless tending towards convergence, but ere they are united it would be a great mistake to attempt prematurely to mingle their turbid waters. They may be made to meet as do the Jumna and the Ganges at Allahabad, but like these great rivers, they cannot be compelled to unite; it must be left to time alone to effect the fusion.

(2) The next objection to the Code in the article under review is that "there are too many standards." "The work," says the writer, "could easily be divided into six standards so as to lead up to the Entrance Examination." If the Code is studied carefully, it will be seen that it is optional to managers

of schools to train up to the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University or not. After Standard VI of the Code, pupils may either be drafted into the Preparatory Entrance Class and then to the Entrance Class or to Standard VII, and then to the "High Standard" of the Code. In this I see a wise provision for *educating* European children. The Entrance Examination of the University was never intended to be a final standard, yet, hitherto, it has been adopted as such by the majority of pupils who have attended our schools because they have had no alternative. It does not provide anything like a training such as every intelligent young man should have in entering the world. The curriculum includes the mere rudiments of school work, without touching upon such subjects as the physical sciences, drawing, music, botany, &c., for the simple reason that most of these are required in the higher examinations of the University course. It is quite evident therefore, that those who do not intend prosecuting their studies beyond the Entrance Examination, cannot gain anything like a fairly general, or as it is called, liberal education by stopping short at that standard. The Code, therefore, provides a final examination called "High," for those who do not seek University honors, and makes the curriculum wide enough to allow scope for the study of one or more of those subjects which would at least tend to initiate the beginner in the more agreeable intellectual pursuits of intelligent and educated men, and to lead a little beyond the drudgery of the ordinary school room. The exclusion of Latin as a second language from this course, if not the result of an oversight, is a mistake, and may even be considered a hardship, but I have reason to hope the next issue of the revised Code will see it in its proper place.

(3) It is painful to see the writer stumbling upon standard I, and treating it as if that was intended in the Code to be the starting point for young children. Under this supposition he goes on to say, "all those who have had anything practical to do with the matter, know that to try to teach little ones 'units, tens, hundreds,' and all the rest of it, is to treat them to 'a jingling noise of sounds unknown,' and not only criminally wastes their time, but clouds their perception and gives them a distaste for calculation. This standard should be well practised in the actual addition and subtraction of concrete quantities mentally, and by the help of counters, the abacus, and such like means." All this indicates the work done in an infant school. The Code especially provides for this in para. 20 (a). (b.) (c.). In the last of these, the lowest limit of age is three years for an infant class. Again in 23, (3) (d) note, it is stated "no child under six years of age shall be presented for examination by standards: and it shall be in the discretion of the Inspector

to refuse to examine any child under eight years of age." It is clear, therefore, that the Code contemplates that standard I. shall ordinarily not be reached till a child is seven years of age, so as to be fit for examination a year after. Consequently the objections raised against the subjects prescribed for standard I. are utterly groundless, considering that a boy is expected to have had a previous training in the infant school extending over three or four years. It would be needless to follow the writer through the labyrinth of his suggestions as to what "should" or "should not," in his opinion, be prescribed in the various standards. Teachers must differ on such questions, but when the dictum of the writer is weighed against that of the framers of the Code, it is not difficult to see which way the scales must turn. If the suggestions made, however, showed a little better acquaintance with the provisions of the Code, they might perhaps have been entitled to a hearing. For example, he says in para (e)—"The reading of such a book as Louise Chreighton's *Stories from English history* should be made compulsory in the third and fourth standards." It is so already. The Code says in schedule I.—"In standards III to VI, two sets of reading books shall be provided, of which one should be historical or biographical." As a matter of fact every grant-in-aid school is obliged to conform to this, though as to the choice of books they are allowed a certain amount of discretion.

(4) I now come to the subject of *inspection*, and with regard to this the writer complains of "*the actual want of an Inspector.*" He explains himself by saying, "There is no one to go from school to school at all unexpected times to see that the work of *education* is being conscientiously performed." Is it possible the writer has not read through the Code which he attempts thus to review? Para. 8 on page 3 concludes thus: "Notice of the day of the Inspector's annual visit will be given beforehand to the managers." This is immediately followed by para. 9 which says—"The Inspector may visit an aided school *at any other time without notice.*" To my certain knowledge this was actually done last year in the case of several schools in Calcutta. On the same subject the Code further lays down, in a note under para. 22—"The Inspector will bear in mind in reporting on the *organization* and *discipline* of a school, the results of any *visits without notice* (Article 9) made in the course of the year." And yet, again, in para. 46 it is stated, "*at every visit paid without notice*, he will make an entry in the log-book of such particulars as require the attention of the managers." It is inconceivable how a writer can venture to assert that what does exist and is provided for, does not exist and is not provided for, except as a result of an oversight which is itself hardly pardonable in such a case. He then proceeds to compare the

Belgian system of inspection with the English, assuming that the system under review is exactly similar to the latter, which it is not. Taking for granted his hypothesis, however, let us see what Mr. Matthew Arnold says on the subject: His evidence given before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales, is quoted at length by the writer. Without entering into this in detail, I would quote his last, but one answer only: He says—"I should like that system (the Belgian) with a *carefully prepared body of teachers, but we have not that.*" If the Belgian system could not be adopted in England from want of a *carefully prepared body of teachers*, what shall we say to the suggestion of its being adopted in India at this, the first stage of the introduction of the Code of Regulations for European schools, where no system for training teachers has existed in any form, except, perhaps, to a very limited extent in one or two isolated institutions? I have had the opportunity of ascertaining generally the feeling of teachers and managers of schools regarding the existing system of inspection, and I have no hesitation in saying, it is on the whole, one of satisfaction. The Code provides, as I have shewn, for the inspection of schools at "unexpected times;" it requires besides, periodic annual visits when the work of the school is tested not merely by means of written questions, but also by oral examinations. During these visits the Inspector does "look into processes" and methods of instruction. Where pupil-teachers are under training, they are required to teach a class in the presence of the Inspector, and he comments on the modes adopted. Teachers, too, are asked to give lessons to their classes in his hearing; and at the conclusion of the annual examination, the Inspector takes the opportunity of pointing out defects he may have noticed, or of making suggestions which may occur to him for the better working of the school. Then, again, the examinations for certificates and scholarships held annually, give the various schools in each circle an opportunity for putting forward their best pupils in the primary and middle departments to compete for the rewards offered. There is in the Code, therefore, ample scope afforded to have the work of each school fairly tested, and those that have come under inspection have had very little cause to complain, if I may judge from the result of the conference of teachers and managers of schools which was held at the instance of the Inspector in January last. There were some alterations suggested, but none to indicate that any part of the Code was generally felt to be unworkable; except, perhaps, some portions of the "high standard," which is altogether a new institution here, and must necessarily be subject to

many modifications before it can be pronounced to be satisfactory.

(5) With the Primary and Middle Scholarship examinations the writer seems pretty well satisfied, and he is pleased to call them, "all but perfect," but he adds, "there are only a few suggestions to make." When he does make them, they are of the most formidable character. For the Primary Scholarship the Code requires only three subjects, English, Arithmetic and Geography. To this "all but perfect" selection, he adds among his "few suggestions" no less than four additional subjects, History, European Language, Vernacular, Science. Considering that this examination is intended for pupils of standard IV only, it appears to be preposterous to expect them to be examined at the age of twelve years in what the Code does not insist on in standard VII, and only makes compulsory in the "High Standard;" and even here a "European language" is considered unnecessary, and has been objected to by most teachers. I have never known French or German to be made compulsory in any school in India, and when introduced at all, it has only been in the higher standards. If he means Latin only, he should have been more explicit. This may be taught in Standard IV with advantage, but pupils at that stage can hardly be expected to sit for a written examination on such a subject. The term "Science" is very wide, but in its most elementary form, the Code very judiciously does not introduce it till Standard V, and then leaves it an optional subject. With regard to History the writer seems to contradict himself, for in para (e) he says:—"By the time a child has reached the fifth standard, however, a sufficient conception of time should have been formed to secure the remembrance of the sequence of events, and the systematic study of history should be begun." How, then, is a child to pass an examination intended for Standard IV, when it should not be taught that subject till it has reached the higher stage in Standard V? An objection is raised to the primary standards being 'made to sit for two subjects on the same day, because the present arrangement has been found to tell upon the children.' This is the first time I have heard of it. I certainly should not expect such a result, for the strain is not more in their case than what they are accustomed to bear daily in the class-room. Besides, young children are more capable for enduring a strain of four hours a day extending over two days only, than a mental tension extending over four days, though the chief strain falls on only two hours each day. Mental anxiety in early years is more wearying and wearing than actual exertion within certain limits, therefore, the shorter it lasts the better.

(6) With regard to the necessary qualification of a *good teacher*, the writer seems to be entirely at variance with the

requirements of the Code. Here is his definition of good teachers. "*A body of thoughtful men*, who are in sympathy with, and earn the respect and affection of their pupils, while training them to think and act accurately, and succeed in sending into the world enlightened men and useful citizens." He goes on to say—"But what is the departmental estimate of a good teacher? It is divided into two parts; for applicants for certificates are first to have passed certain examinations, and then are to show 'service with credit' if they want these certificates bestowed and allowed." This, as far as I understand it, simply means that a teacher must in the first place give evidence that he possesses a certain amount of knowledge, and secondly, he must prove that he has the ability to impart that knowledge to his pupils. But, says the writer, "*the first is absolutely unnecessary*, for if a teacher does serve with credit, it is of no consequence whether he has passed examinations or not." Here is an attempt made to apply the hypothetical case of "a teacher," or even say, *some teachers*, to *all teachers*. No one will deny that there are and have been some very successful teachers who have passed no special examination, but how can this fact lead to the conclusion that examinations to test the knowledge of teachers before admission into membership of a learned profession, are "*absolutely unnecessary*"! The Code makes ample provision for exceptional cases. Sec IV, 71, lays down—"It shall be open to the Department, in exceptional cases, to grant certificates of the first or second grade to persons not entitled to such certificates under any of the foregoing rules." In addition to this, the Code especially provides for those who were already engaged as teachers when the Code came into operation, in para 72, 73 and 74, which will remain in force till the 31st March 1887. According to these rules, first, second and third grade certificates are given to those teachers who "were actively employed" as such, in schools which are recognized by the Department as efficient, without their being subjected to any test whatever beyond the evidence of their work in the different schools in which they were engaged. The writer, however, takes no cognizance of this. He objects *in toto* to examinations for teachers, and insists on having only "*thoughtful men*," as opposed, it appears, to *learned men*, who out of their thoughtfulness would evolve all that was necessary to make them good teachers. While the universal practice of admission by examination exists with regard to every other learned profession, (except perhaps the admission into the Statutory Civil Service by nomination) he would have teachers, whose work mainly concerns the imparting of knowledge, to be exempted entirely from the necessity of affording any proof that they possess the 'knowledge themselves' which they are expected to

give to others ! While the assumption is perfectly true that every learned man may not be a good teacher, it does not follow that all teachers need not be learned men.*

The Code lays down two primary and essential requirements: (1) the possession of knowledge; (2) the ability to impart it. It is a mere matter of arithmetic ; two and three make five. Neither two by itself nor three by itself can make five. It is absolutely necessary that the teacher should give evidence that he does possess these qualifications, otherwise who are to be entrusted with the work of education by the Department ? It is so in other learned professions. A man may be a very successful doctor or a lawyer who holds no diploma, but that would not justify those vested with the power of granting licenses to certify to their ability, unless as the Code does, under an exceptional clause. Why does not the writer advocate the abolishing of the assay office and the mint because gold and silver may be found in a pure state independent of the official stamp ? I quite agree with the theoretic statement subsequently put forward by the writer, but I dare not say it could be put into practice—would that it could. He says—"no person should be allowed to teach who does not satisfy the authorities that he is born to the profession." If he would only tell the "authorities" the secret by which such a discovery is to be made, he will have solved one of the most difficult problems in the world ; for, by the same process, similar discoveries could be made with regard to other professions likewise, and a very great deal of time, labour and money would be saved, and many a life now wasted in a mistaken profession, would find full scope for the proper exercise of those faculties which nature has intended for a certain career. But even if this were possible, would it be desirable ? What would a "born" teacher say when he finds he is just one too many for his profession and is not wanted ? What would the man do in such a case, who, as the writer says, "would rather teach than do anything else," and who feels "*he is not at liberty to do anything but teach.*" Such a slavery under the circumstances would mean starvation and death. Nor is it so very far from being the case in India as may be supposed. While it is true that "good teachers are wanted urgently and in large numbers," men do not respond to the call for the simple reason that the profession "does not pay." This is no doubt a very sordid view to take, but in this practical age, we must not be surprised at it. A parent is naturally anxious for the future well being of his child.; a young man looking forward upon entering on the voyage of life, must necessarily scan the horizon, as far as he can, and judging from the experience of others, choose such a course for himself as promises the best prospects of advancement. Without having the intuitive faculty of knowing whether he is "born to the profession" of a teacher or not,

it is no matter of surprise if that career is shunned which, from a practical point of view seems almost the most unpromising—and this brings me to the subject of pupil teachers.

(7) The experience of the writer and mine are at variance as to the results of the pupil-teacher system in Calcutta. He says, "I have seen the pupil-teacher system tried in one of the largest schools in Calcutta, and consider all those experiments have been complete failures, as they have been proved by their discontinuance." I know of one public school in Calcutta where the experiment has been tried before the Code came into existence, and where it is still continued. In that school the first *three* assistant masters are all men trained in it as pupil-teachers, and the result of their work has been so satisfactory to the Education Department, that they have all received certificates of proficiency. I have very little fault to find with the system as laid down in the Code, for within my personal knowledge and experience I have found it to succeed, but I know there is the greatest difficulty in getting young lads to consent to become teachers. Almost any other opening in life affords better prospects of advancement, and I should be the last person to dissuade a young man from giving up the office of a pupil-teachership in favour of a more promising appointment. *It is the want of material that makes the system apparently a failure.*

In the case of those very teachers to whom I have referred and whose work has been so successful, I know as a matter of fact that they regret having entered a profession where their prospects are so limited, especially when they see around them their own pupils, now as clerks, or even in the Railway and Telegraph Service, who are, from a wordly point of view, "doing better" than themselves. It is unfortunately the case that managers of schools are not generally alive to these facts, and there is a tendency to pay more attention to external embellishments and clap trap than to the real wants of teachers. It is for managers of schools to consider whether it will, or will not be to the interests of their schools to make the teacherships in them worth having, and thus to secure a stamp of men who would be a credit to the profession, and who would look on it as one worth striving after. The status of our schools can only be raised by raising the status of the teacher, but when teaching is resorted to in many cases as a mere make-shift, and is adhered to only as an unavoidable necessity, indifferent men as teachers, and indifferent results in the end must be the necessary consequence.

(8.) On the subject of boarding schools the writer advances certain theories which, in some cases, are not supported by facts, and in others are impracticable. For example, he says, "It is very difficult to keep a school in the plains healthy, and therefore these Government-aided boarding schools should all be in the hills." With regard to the first statement, my intimate

acquaintance with the working of three of the largest boarding schools in Calcutta within the last quarter of a century, enables me to state as a fact, that the health of the pupils in them has always been remarkably good, and this cannot always be said of hill schools. Based on this wrong premiss is the impracticable conclusion that the grant-in-aid schools on the plains should all be transferred to the hills. If desirable and necessary, would it be possible? Perhaps there is hidden here, too, something which an ordinary mind cannot grasp. I had better reserve my opinion till we are fully informed how this great achievement is to be performed. As a matter of fact an attempt was recently made to transfer a portion of one of our local boarding schools to a hill station, but the result was a heavy pecuniary loss and a considerable falling away in the attendance. A privileged few boarding schools are, however, according to the writer, to remain on the plains, such as "small boarding schools with fees sufficient to cover their expenses. These are generally excellent establishments. Against these there is nothing to be said." This would be very valuable testimony from an independent witness. But "a large boarding school in the plains is an undeniable mistake," though some of them have existed for nearly a century and have sent forth into the world thousands of men and women as respectable and useful members of society. If any thing is undeniable with respect to such schools, it is that there is an increasing demand for more of them, and those that are well conducted have not room to hold the number who seek admission into them, not merely as free scholars, but as pay pupils, the latter having to wait in many cases for more than a year from the time of their registration as applicants before they can be taken in. As if to render their existence impossible, the writer makes the impracticable suggestion that "aided boarding schools should have a large staff of resident masters, at least one for every ten boys, besides the Superintendent"! I have found one to every fifty sufficient, where a healthy tone is preserved among the senior pupils, who are trained as pupil teachers and monitors to be coadjutors with the masters in maintaining discipline and in preserving a high standard of morality and good feeling among their fellows. Herein I believe lies the secret of all good government; for as soon as authority assumes the form of despotism and stoops to a system of close surveillance, it is sure to raise opposition and mistrust; but when law and right are upheld with the mutual consent and co-operation of the rulers and the ruled, then, with a little tact and judgment, the inevitable result must be the suppression of evil and the predominance of good.

ART. IX.—THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS OF ORIENTAL SCHOLARS AT VIENNA.

[SEPTEMBER 1886.]

HAVING in former years published an account of the six earlier Oriental Congresses at Paris, London, St. Petersburgh, Florence, Berlin and Leyden, I now proceed to give an account of the seventh Congress, which was opened on September 27th 1886 at Vienna. The object of these Congresses has been to bring together, after stated intervals, all the scholars whose attention is devoted to the study of oriental subjects, Philology, Archæology, religious and general literature. It is generally accepted, that the word "oriental" includes Asia, Africa and Oceania. Politics, Commerce and the Christian Religion are subjects which are absolutely excluded, and contributions regarding Geography, Ethnology, or the exact Sciences would be respectfully declined as being outside the orbit of the Congress. Even then, a vast variety of subjects of interest remained, so different from each other, that not only no one scholar is conversant with all, but the great majority are totally ignorant of what is going on beyond their own immediate environment: the world of the Oriental savant is divided into Arian, Semitic, Altaic, Egyptologue, Assyriologue, Sinologue, etc., etc. Then again the scholars themselves are of different mental calibre and distinct training. Some are mere Professors, occupying a chair, and narrow-minded, though extremely accurate: others belong to the speculative order, and use the divining rod of generalisation, giving new life to the dead accumulations of knowledge by their contemporaries: a third class are well-informed dilettante, who without accurate knowledge and without speculative power, supply an intelligent and critical audience, and by keeping themselves abreast of the knowledge of the period down the whole line of investigators, are able to restrain those who are too rash, and stir up those who are content to sit upon their haunches. It requires a certain amount of culture and study to understand and appreciate the discussions which take place at such Congresses. And something else is required for the outsiders: four languages are permitted to be used in the communications and discussions, English, French, German and Italian, and no scholar can do justice to the subject who is not familiar with all. Professors fall into the error of discussing subjects which are too technical and scholastic:

the great scholars sometimes allow themselves to enter a world of too uncontrolled speculation, and of rash and hazardous theories. Between this Scylla and Charibdis, the arena of knowledge is always extending, and owing to the community of thoughts and personal friendships which are the result of these Congresses, there is a great economy of labour and solidarity of investigation.

At the sixth Congress held in 1883 at Leyden, it was determined that the next Congress should be at Vienna in 1886. As the time approached a Committee of Organisation was formed at the latter city, consisting of six representative scholars of different branches of Science; presided over by Baron Alfred von Kremer, favourably known as an oriental scholar, and a distinguished member of the Austrian Consular Service. His Imperial and Royal Highness, Archduke Rainer agreed to be patron. The University of Vienna placed their grand new buildings at the disposal of the Congress. Circulars were issued, notifying the dates and conditions of membership, which included ladies: the Austrian railways allowed reduction of fares, and by Sunday the 26th of September the members had assembled.

Experience obtained in previous Congresses enabled the Vienna Committee to provide against all difficulties. The advance of cholera from the direction of Buda-Pesth, and the proceedings of the Russian Consul General in Bulgaria, seemed to place the Congress in jeopardy, but everything came off betwixt September 27th and October 2nd with the greatest success, and every one left Vienna charmed and satisfied.

In looking through the list of members who paid their subscription of fourteen shillings, and exceeded four hundred, I find representatives of every country in Europe: of Egypt in Africa, of India and China in Asia, and of the United States in America, but of these only 147, including ladies who were members, put in an appearance: all subscribing members receive a copy of the extremely valuable reports which are generally very tardy in appearance. A list of members present, noting their place of sojourn in Vienna, and a list of the communications forwarded for discussion, and a daily chronicle of events and engagements were published, and forwarded to every member, who were thus kept *en rapport* with what was going on.

Vienna is an exceedingly agreeable city to reside in; the hotels are excellent, and the means of locomotion admirable. The weather was simply superb: the only drawback was that betwixt the business of the Sections, and the attractions of the hospitality, it required a frame of iron to bear up under the pressure of the six days Session.

On the evening of Sunday, 26th, all the members met in one of the great hotels as an informal reunion for the purpose of exchanging greeting, making acquaintances, and ascertaining the arrangements for the next day. On Monday the 27th, at 10-30 A. M., the Congress was solemnly opened in the great hall of the University. The Archduke presided, and there was a good assembly of the residents of Vienna, in addition to the members of the Congress. The Archduke opened the meeting, and was followed by the Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. von Gautsch in a set speech : the President of the Congress, Baron von Kremer then read his opening address. On a table in front of the Committee were laid out all the books presented by members of the Congress, many of them of great interest ; but perhaps the largest and most interesting came from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The delegates of each country had the opportunity of uttering a few words of greeting, and when it came to the turn of Dr. Robert Cust, one of the delegates of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, he begged to express in his name, and in the name of his colleagues from England, the pleasure which they felt in finding themselves in the city of Vienna, and he begged to offer for the acceptance of the Congress one hundred and four volumes of translations of a well-known book (the Bible) in the languages of Asia, Africa, America and Oceania, prepared at the expense of the two Anglo-Saxon nations, but with the assistance of scholars from Germany, Austria, Russia and Holland—languages spoken by more than two hundred millions of people at the present moment. The present was received with applause, and the books were examined with interest, and will be placed in the shelves of the University library. The members of the Congress then retired by order of the President to the different Section-rooms, and formed themselves into six groups, electing Sectional Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Secretaries. The number and nature of the groups had been previously determined by the organising Committees with reference to the nature of the written communications previously sent in to be read at the Congress. They were six in number :

- I.—Modern Semitic,
- II.—Ancient Semitic,
- III.—Aryan or Indo-European,
- IV.—Egypto-African,
- V.—Central Asiatic and the extreme Orient.,
- VI.—Malaisian and Polynesian.

In past centuries Latin and Greek exercised a tyranny over the world of education and research, which is scarcely even

now got rid of. A similar kind of tyranny is exercised by Aryan and Semitic scholars of Europe, and in the opinion of some Sanskrit and Arabic and their congeners are the only studies worthy of attention.

It will be perceived, that out of the six Sections, three were assigned to them, but when we examine the number of contributions to each branch of oriental study, we shall see how large a portion of the mind and leisure of the present generation is occupied by these narrow, restricted, and less important studies. If it were asked in an English school, why the modern languages are not part of the education, the reply would be that the masters of the school did not know them. So if it were asked why scarcely a student turns his attention to the subjects of the last three Sections, the reply would be, that with few exceptions, there were no teachers or chairs. Both the Aryan and Semitic languages are inflexive, and resemble each other in other salient features, such as possessing grammatical genders, etc.; the races who speak those languages occupy but a small portion of the globe; having been highly cultivated and reduced to writing, these languages have lost their freshness, and but few secrets of antiquity are to be gathered from them. Still they are the fashion, and at the Vienna Congress their sections were crowded—while a few only, some out of mere pity, or the coercion of the readers of the paper, were induced to attend the remainder.

It is not my intention to record the names of the distinguished scholars who were present, or of the offices which they filled. It is sufficient to notify that there were 419 names inscribed as subscribing members of the Congress, of whom 147 were actually present, some of whom were delegates of countries, universities, or learned societies. Ninety-one communications were made in writing: the large majority of these were read in one or other of the sections, and were open to discussion: the remaining will be published in the Transactions. Of the ninety-one communications sixty-six related to Aryan and Semitic subjects, and twenty-five to the rest of the Oriental world, past or present. It must be remarked that the subjects, with few exceptions, were practical, new, and indicating enquiry and research. During the week the Sections sat simultaneously until they had disposed of their agenda, and the daily Progress Report supplied information piecemeal, and the correspondents of the periodicals of Europe reported the proceeding in the same way: for the purpose of greater lucidity I have collected the work of each Section in a separate chapter, and propose to dispose of each *seriatim*. It must be recollected that in addition to set discussions, opportunity was taken at intervals to present books to the Congress,

and to make communications with regard to forthcoming books, and even to invite the opinion of the section as to the expediency of publishing new books, or new editions of old books. The interchange of thought that followed was of the greatest importance.

In the modern Semitic eighteen subjects were on the agenda, whereof three only were not brought forward.

The Revd. C. T. Ball of Lincoln's Inn made a communication on the subject of the formal element in the Hebrew lyric. Under this title a new theory of the laws and structure of the popular poetry, and the more elaborate hymns of the old Testament was set forth, and illustrated by numerous examples, including the Song of Deborah, and the Elegy for Saul and Jonathan. It was argued that the instances quoted were examples of syllabic and accentual as distinct from quantitative measures, and the author found in the metrical form of the early popular poetry of other nations, and in the fact that the old Hebrew lyrics, like those of many other ancient people, were written for metrical and voice accompaniment, antecedent grounds for the supposition that the poetry of the Bible is not destitute of measured rhythm. Five scholars took part in the discussion, and the proposition was by no means received with general acceptance.

Professor Bickell of Innsbruck read a paper on the corrections to the old Syriac versions of Kalila, and Damana, sent to him by a Syrian bishop, the result of the comparison of the printed work with a unique old MS. in the monastary of Mardin, which was made in the sixth century, A. D., from the nearly contemporary Pahlevi translation of the Sanskrit original. This same Pahlevi text had been translated into Arabic, and thence into the language of the West, giving birth to that vast literature of Fables and Beast stories, which still charm children and interest scholars. In the Syriac text the Buddhistic origin of these stories is still very conspicuous. This communication belongs to one of the most interesting fields of modern research, which crops up in every language and country, and at every period.

Professor Chwolsen of St. Petersburg referred to a great collection of Syriac Tomb-Inscriptions which had lately been found in the Russian Central Asia Province of Semiretch, west from the Chinese frontier of Kulja, and north of the Russian Province of Fergana. The two graveyards belonged to the Nestorian Christians. Twenty-two of these inscriptions had been published in the Mémoires of the Academy of St. Petersburg, having been copied from the original tomb-stones, or from photographs or hand copies: they were of importance both from the Historic, Paleographical, and Linguistic points

of view. Their dates were from 858 to 1340 A. D., and a Turk's name appears in one, dated 858, whence it is clear that the assertions of the Nestorian missionaries, that they had converted the east Turki tribes as far back as the eighth century, A. D., corresponds to the truth. Great interest has been taken in Russia about this discovery, and several learned societies have undertaken to make further explorations and publish the results. Orders have been given to collect these stones in one central place, and Semitic Epigraphy will find itself enriched by many hundred important and historic inscriptions.

The five next speakers treated on scholastic subjects. Professor Ethé of Aberystwith in Wales, discussed the well-worn subject of Yusuf and Zulaikha, under which name Potiphar's wife is known in Asia, by the great Persian poet, Firdúsí, the wonder being how it was treated as Semitic. Professor Grunert of Prague read a paper on Arabic alliteration. Dr. Hein of Vienna followed with an essay on the Financial Policy of Omar II, which he might with advantage have reserved for his class-room. Professor Honig of Munich introduced the well-worn legend of Barlam and Josaphat in its Arabic form ; I have no notes of what new light he threw on the strange story of the historic character of the great Buddha passing by easy stages of legend into the position of a saint of the Roman Catholic Calendar. Hifni Effendi Ahmad, an official of the Egyptian Court of Appeal and one of the Delegates of H. H. the Khedive, read a paper in Arabic on the modern popular dialect of Egypt. This was a notable fact, and I shall remark upon it further on. Professor Karabacek of the Vienna Museum, specially in charge of the celebrated papyri lately brought from Egypt by Archduke Rainer, the patron of the Congress, communicated some highly interesting results of his examination of the Arabic portion of these papyri. One of the most interesting objects in Vienna is the wonderful collection lately found in the Faium. The President of the Congress, Baron von Kremer, then read a paper on the Budget of the Annual Revenue of the Caliph Harun-al Rashid, based on lately discovered documents. I must confess that this style of communication is more curious than profitable. Mahomed Rashid Effendi, Inspector and Translator in the Office of the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, and one of the delegates of H. H. the Khedive, read a paper in Arabic on the Progress of Education in Egypt from the time of the Arabic Conquest to the present time. When this is printed, it will be an interesting study. Professor Guidi of Rome read a communication upon Arabic Lexicography, a question which has cropped up at most of the Congresses, but to which no solution

has been found. There were not many Italians at the Congress, and the presence of Professor Guidi was therefore the more welcomed. Professor Teza of Pisa was indeed present, but did not take any part in the debates. The absence of Attar, Ascoli, and Gubethatis was to be regretted.

Dr. C. Snoucke Hurgronje of Leyden introduced his "Mékanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten" ("Meccan Proverbs and Sayings") published by the Royal Dutch Indian Institute. Dr. Sp. Hurgronje directed attention to the prominent place which proverbs and sayings occupy in old and modern Arabic speech, and to the fact that there is hardly any contribution to the knowledge of manners, customs, ideas and dialect of a country inhabited by Arabs to be compared with a collection of the proverbs and sayings current among them; such a collection, needless of course, to be accompanied by an extensive commentary. From Burckhardt down to Landberg, nearly of the best Orientalists have given us collections of the kind, and they have complained of the neglect of such studies by the natives themselves. It so happened that the speaker, during his journey home from Arabia, came across a young and excellent native scholar of Egypt, now Arabic tutor to the sons of the Khedive, who are studying in Switzerland. This young man was, by his careful investigations, able to put a collection of 1,500 proverbs and sayings at the disposal of Dr. Snoucke Hurgronje, who is now in possession of this valuable collection, which he intends to publish with a commentary as soon as possible. During his residence of one whole year in the Hedjaz, Dr. S. Hurgronje heard probably some 1,500 proverbs and sayings of the modern Arabs, but the Babel-like confusion of languages caused by the gathering of pilgrims from all Mahomedan countries, makes it almost impossible to decide in every case, if such a saying was heard only from Syrians, such a one from Egyptians, etc.

A collection without such distinctions would have no value. It is, however, easy for one, who has lived for six months as a Meccan among Meccans (as Dr. S. Hurgronje) to learn to distinguish between what is actually Meccan and what is foreign in the manners, customs, and speech of those whom he encountered. The Meccans, notwithstanding centuries of foreign influences, have preserved their own peculiar character. This result is chiefly due to the conservative and numerous Shereef families, who, from the first centuries of Islâm down to our times, play a prominent part in the history of El-Hedjaz: thus it is possible to collect Meccan proverbs and sayings which reflect Meccan thought, life, and language. The speaker stated that his work would be in two volumes, the first containing the history of the Shereefs of Mecca down to our times;

the second, a description of the social and domestic life of the Meccans of the present day, and of the numerous colonies of foreigners at Mecca. He regretted not to have been able to complete the first volume in time to present a copy to the Congress; but he meanwhile published and presented a volume of Arabic proverbs and sayings in the vulgar tongue, collected by himself at Mecca, and not to be found in any other collection.

Yakub Artin Pasha, Under Secretary of State to the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, Chief of the Delegates to the Congress of H. H. the Khedive, presented to the Congress a Notice of the Proceedings of the Egyptian Institute since its foundation, prepared by Vidal Bey, Secretary General of the Institute, in the French language, and accompanied his present with a few remarks in the French language. He was followed by Shaikh Hamza Fathalla, First Inspector of Instruction in Arabic in the office of the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt who read a communication in the Arabic language, on the great influence which the Arabic language had brought to bear on general civilisation. This was a remarkable subject for an Arab to handle, and I shall return to it further on. I have thus passed under review all the work of the Section of Modern Semitic.

In the Section of Ancient Semitic, sixteen communications were made, but five of them were not read or discussed, but will appear in the published Proceedings.

Under a fanciful or inaccurate name of Prolegomena—which might mean anything—Professor Bezold of Munich read a really interesting paper on the steps that should be taken to compile a good grammar of the Assyro-Babylonian language. Some scholars of eminence took part in the discussion. Dr. Feigl of Vienna read a scholastic paper on the "Determination" in Semitic languages. Dr. Ginsburgh, the well known Talmudic scholar of London, read a paper on a newly discovered fragment of the Jerusalem Targum of Isaiah. It was known in the Middle Ages that a Jerusalem Chaldee paraphrase of the Prophets existed, as well as of the Pentateuch, but hitherto no portion of this Chaldee version has come to light. From the discovery of a leaf of this Targum by Dr. Ginsburgh, it is now established beyond doubt, that such a version really existed. Dr. D. H. Müller of Vienna, gave the history of the sound of the letter "S," and followed its development from the most ancient to modern times. He showed what importance the exact description of this sound has had for linguistic research. A whole series of phonetico-physiological and graphical problems and enigmas are thereby explained in the simplest manner. On this important, though seemingly minute question, Professors Nöldecke, Bickell, Kamori and Oppert spoke at length.

Mr. S. A. Smith of Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A., who had spent two-and-a-half years in Europe in the study of Cuneiform texts, gave some of the results of his six months work in the British Museum, copying and collating the badly published and entirely unpublished texts of the Assyrian King Assurbanipal. After giving some remarks about the materials which this collection gave for the study of the Assyriologist, many difficult words were either explained for the first time, or new interpretations proposed for what seemed to be errors. Several new texts were given. One contained apparently the diagnosis of some fatal disease "from which some personage of note" seems to have died. Another contains the delivery of a certain number of horses upon a certain day: a third gives the account of the history of a General. Mr. Smith announced the publication of a new book on the texts of Assurbanipal.

The Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S.J. from London, made a short communication on the numerous inscriptions of King Nabonidus which are in the British Museum. He has presented more than 500 copies of these judicial and commercial inscriptions, and has shown the great importance of a complete collection of these inscriptions, as they illustrate the history and the social and commercial state of Babylonia in the time when the prophet Daniel lived in Babylon before the capture of Babylon by the Persians. Professor J. Oppert recommended highly the necessity of the publication of a complete collection of these important inscriptions, and the Section agreed to the recommendation.

Professor Nöldecke of Strassburg and Professor D. Müller of Vienna jointly proposed the resolution, that the Sections recommend that a critical edition of the Talmud in one or two volumes be published, and that the tractate Berachit by Dr. Friedmann be published in the acts of the Congress. It was agreed to.

Professor D. Müller of Vienna and Professor Patkanoff of St. Petersburg, recommended that the Russian Government be memorialized to collect copies of, and publish the cuneiform inscriptions which have been found in the Province of Trans-Caucasia, and to support by a contribution the scientific labours of those who are occupied with the inscriptions at Van, in Turkish Armenia. It was agreed to.

Professor Oppert of Paris made a communication on the juridical texts of Chaldea and Assyria, from the remotest times down to the most recent. These difficult texts, said Dr. Oppert, had already been studied by several scholars, who, nevertheless, had failed of success, for the reason that a knowledge of the law is an indispensable requisite on the part of the translator. He proceeded to treat of some of the most ancient texts of contracts and judgments, dating from 2,500 B.C., and especially

of those dated from the reigns of Erivaka (the biblical Arioch) and Harmhabî. Having given an historical sketch of the development of law, he put before the assembled members a highly interesting translation of a judgment, whereby the heir of a deceased man, who had illegally detained a sum of money confided to his trust, was condemned to reimburse the same. The date of this sentence was 538 B. C.

Dr. Bhandarkar, Professor of the Dekkan College, Puna, in West India, read a paper on the principal results of his last two years studies in Sanskrit manuscripts and literature with particular reference to the Sacrificial ritual and the Pancharatra system. At another meeting of the Section, he recited a poem written in the Sanskrit language on the occasion of the Congress : this poem was printed as an appendix to the Daily Progress Report. Dr. Bühler took part in the discussion. The correctness and excellence of the accent of the Indian Professor's English, and the scholarly way in which he held his own amid the greatest European savants, were a gratification to all who watch with interest the intellectual progress of the Indian people. The Section passed a vote of thanks to the Political Agent of Kathiawar and the Bombay Government, for sending to the Congress so efficient a delegate as the Pandit. Dr. Glaser of Trieste read a notice of the old Indian descriptions of foreign stones.

Mr. Grierson, a delegate from the Government of India, read a most important paper on the mediæval vernacular literature of Northern India, of the nature of which he gave a brief resumé from 1,200 to 1,600 A. D. He dealt specially with the poets Malik Muhammad; author of the "Padmáwat," Súr Dás and Tulsí Dás. With regard to Súr Dás, he was enabled to prove that the current accounts were legendary, and to give, for the first time, the poet's autobiography. The influence of Tulsí Dás over the daily life of the masses of India was very great ; he had saved India from the Tantric obscenities of Sivaism. A complete list of his works, and a description of his style was then given. The modern editions were very corrupt, and a critical edition was most desirable. Photographs were exhibited of Tulsí Dás's autographs.

Mr. Grierson had, on the previous Monday's session, proposed a general and detailed survey of the various dialects spoken in North India ; and a resolution was proposed by Professor Bühler of Vienna, and seconded by Professor Weber of Berlin, urging on the Government of British India the propriety of commencing this most important work. It so happened that in India at this moment, many specialists could be found who would give voluntary assistance. The officials employed by Government to search for Sanskrit manuscripts could, at the same time, search for the equally important works in the

medieval vernaculars. The resolution was signed by all the scholars present in the following terms :—

Read.—A note by Messrs Grierson and Höernle, supported by Messrs Barth, Bendall, Cowell, Cust, Max Müller, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Messrs Rost, Sayce and Senart, proposing a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India, Nearer and Further, not only as they exist at the present time, but as far back as MSS. can take us.

Proposed by Dr. G. Bühler, seconded by Professor A. Weber, and carried by acclamation :—" That this Section strongly urge upon the Government of India, that the present is a suitable time for the commencement of this most important work.

" Just now there happens to be in India a number of scholars who have made the vernaculars of that country their special study.

" The search for vernacular MSS. could be conveniently united with that of Sanskrit ones now being conducted by officers of Government, who might be requested to spend a fixed proportion of their funds on Vernacular MSS.

The survey of the vernaculars, as they exist at present, could be carried out by the subordinate officers of the Education Departments with the least possible expenditure of trouble and money. They should be in each Presidency or Province, under the supervision of one or more skilled specialists, who would, no doubt, in many cases, give their services voluntarily."

This subject is one which will interest all who have the welfare of the people of India at heart, and no one is more fitted than Mr. Grierson, so favourably known for his labours on these subjects, to conduct the survey. The ignorance of the officials of Government, both English and Native of the patois of the people, must often be the cause of cruel injustice ; and in the case of local disturbances, of grave political risks, for a few words spoken to the leading people will often settle a difficulty.

Another address of great practical value for educational purposes was delivered, first in English and then in German, by the Rev. W. H. Hechler, Chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna. He exhibited and explained his Bible chronological chart (three feet by two, especially drawn for the Congress) from the death of Solomon to the close of old Testament history, upon which he has been working for sixteen years, and in which he has incorporated all the latest researches of Assyriologists and other scientific men, especially the former unknown Kings of Babylon, Nineveh and Egypt. This chart shows, by a very simple and graphic method, that the record of the Hebrew sacred historians is confirmed and illustrated by the most recently discovered bas reliefs and clay inscriptions of the Kings of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt and Persia. The history of Greece and Rome is also included.

He also drew attention to the very old Babylonian Sumerian inscriptions on sun-burnt bricks which he exhibited, which are in the oldest cuneiform characters known, and were engraved by command of King Gudea, one of the oldest Chaldean kings, about 3100 years B. C., in Hebrew and half in Greek, on which the name Hadad is engraved. This name occurs several times in the Bible, 1 Gen. 36: 35; 1 Chron. I. 46. A king who reigned in Edom, in his capital Avith. It was he who defeated the Midianites in the field of Moab. (2) 1 Chron. I 30, 51; another later King of Edom : he is the last enumerated in the early genealogies.

Professor Hommel of Munich, who has made the old Sumerian inscriptions a special study of his. Then pointed out the great importance of one of these old bricks, because in it is mentioned for the first time, Ghanna-ki, which is the original name of the later Nineveh. He promised to prepare a short paper on these Gudea inscriptions, with accurate drawings of the inscriptions, for the Record volume of the Congress.

In the Aryan or Indo-European Section, there was a great gathering of scholars, and thirty-two communications had been registered, but nine of these were laid before the Section without being read, and will be printed in the Proceedings.

Mr. Bendall of the British Museum read a paper on a manuscript and an inscription discovered by him during his late tour in India in a character not hitherto noticed. The manuscript was a fragment of a rare work on Grammar used by the Buddhists and bought in Nepaul. The inscription was in the Calcutta Museum. Nothing was known about it ; the alphabet was possibly one of those alluded to in works of the Buddhists.

Dr. J. Hanusz of Vienna read a contribution to the subject of Armenian Dialectology, as follows :—

*Phonology of the Polish Armenian dialect of Kuty,
in Galicia (Austria).*

The Polish Armenians reside in Eastern Galicia, the Bukowina and Bessarabia where they have been living since the eleventh century. At the time when they traded with the East, they spoke Armenian. At the present day Armenian is spoken in Austria only in the towns, Kuty and Suerzawa. Elsewhere they speak Polish and Ruthenian, the upper classes also French and German. In their Catholic churches mass is said in old Armenian, but the sermons and prayers are delivered in Polish. The Armenians who reside in Kuty are poor and uneducated, they are engaged in commerce, and still use Armenian as their language of business. They are unacquainted with the Armenian characters and literature, therefore their

dialect is not influenced by the literary language. The Polish Armenian dialect of Kuty belongs to the Western Armenian branch, as is proved, first, by the old Armenian Tenues *p. t. c. c* having become the mediae *b. d. g. dz. dz.*, (2) by the old Armenian mediae having become Tenues (3) the locative being formed by the preposition *mec.*, with the Dative (4) by the Present and Imperfect tenses having a prefix *gi* (*gu, gū, gū*).

Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, a delegate from the Government of India, then exhibited an ancient book lately found in the Panjab, known as the "Baksháli Manuscript," which he has been the first to decipher. The contents of the paper are too technical for a detailed account to be given here. It will suffice to state that Dr. Hoernle showed that the manuscript, written on birch-bark, probably dates from the 8th or 9th century A. D., and therefore is one of the oldest Indian manuscripts known to exist. It contains a work on arithmetic written in the so-called Gáthá dialect, the literary form of the ancient North-Western Prákrit, exhibiting a strange mixture of Sanskrit and Prákrit forms. The work itself is much older than the manuscript in which it has been preserved. On various grounds it appears probable, that it is the product of a member of the Buddhist or Jain community, dating from the 4th century of our era. It is, therefore, the earliest known work on arithmetic. It will shortly be published partly at the expense of the Panjab Government.

Professor Hunfalvy of Buda-Pesth read an important communication on the origin of the Roumanian language, spoken in the two Danubian provinces of Bessabaria, and Wallachia. Their language is no doubt a neo-Latin language, but with foreign influences. Professor Hasdeu of Bukarest read a paper on the Turki elements in this language, the result of long political domination, but other conterminous influences have been at work to produce such phenomena as the post-position of the article to the nominative, e.g. "Teatr'uł" to correspond to the Italian form "il Teatro."

Professor Jacobi of Kiel read a paper on the subject of the Jaina religion and the cultus of Krishna, subjects too large to be discussed in the few minutes allowed to each topic at a Congress. Professor Leumann of Strassburg made remarks upon a Jaina text *Anga-vijjá* which had been exhibited by Professor Bhandarkar.

Professor Ernest Kuhn of Munich read a paper on the languages spoken on the slopes of the Hindu-Kush range, in the countries of Dardistán, Chitrál, Kaferistán, and Laghmán, and adduced arguments to show that these languages, including the Kashmiri, and the Romani of the gipsies, should be considered a special branch of the Indic family of Aryan languages.

He exhibited a lithographed form of a comparative table of a certain number of words. The material had been supplied from collections made by Colonel Tanner of the Survey, during the last Afghan war : they had been forwarded to Dr. Robert Cust, who entrusted them to the late Dr. Trumpp, as the most competent person to deal with them ; at the lamented death of that distinguished scholar, the papers were sent back again to Dr. Cust by his widow, and were transmitted to Professor Kuhn, who has now made use of them.

Mr. Charles Leland, the well known American Romani scholar stated, that after having declared fifteen years ago his belief in the identity of the gipsy language with that of the well-known migratory tribe in India, the Dom, he had since been informed that there actually existed in the Panjáb a wandering tribe, who were themselves Róm, and spoke Romani. It so happened that in the Section, and listening to Mr. Leland's remarks in English, there were four members of the Indian Civil Service, all employed in North India, all but one in the Punjab, and all deeply interested in such subjects: Mr. Grierson, Captain Temple, Mr. Macauliffe and Dr. Robert Cust: the Punjab has been surveyed, and a careful census has been made, long treatises written upon the castes and tribes by competent officers. Migratory and predatory tribes there are, who are well looked after: there is no doubt that there exist Argots or slang languages, or Thieves languages, all artificial forms of speech, but no confirmation could be given to Mr. Leland's informant of the currency to this day of the Romani language as a recognized vernacular.

Professor Signána of Rome, and Professor Roth of Tübingen made contributions to the well-known subject of the Veda. If these Congresses were to last for another century, there will always be found a scholar ready to pick a plum from that venerable tree, just as a Professor of an English University, until the end of time, will delight in spinning a little yarn about some point in the Greek plays. It is the hereditary infirmity of the class to do so.

Professor Spiridion Papageorgios, of the Government Educational Department in the Isle of Corfu, but by origin a member of that remarkable colony of Wallachians settled south of the Danube, and known as the Kutzo-Wallachians, transmitted a paper on the peculiar dialect of the Roumanian language, which is spoken by his people, but for some reason or other he commissioned Professor Hazdeu to withdraw it, which is to be regretted.

Dr. M. A. Stein of Budapest (Hungary) delivered a lecture in English about the *Paropamisus* or *Hindu Kush*, in ancient Geography. Guided by the oldest Greek form of the name,

πανηδός given by Aristotle, he recognizes the Paropamisus in the mountain Upairi-çaéna of an interesting Avistic passage. The name literally means "higher than the eagles fly," and is proved to apply to the Hindu-Kush by the curious legend lingering still at the present day round that famous range. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang (7. Cent. p. Chr.) was told that birds cannot fly over it, "but go a foot across the height and fly downwards." The same piece of folklore was recorded by Marco Polo, Emperor Baber, and more recently by Alex. Burnes, and Dr. Stein drew thence conclusions in favour of the Bactrian origin of the bulk of the Zoroastrian writings.

Professor Fred. Müller of Vienna explained some passages in the Avesta.

Captain Temple of the Indian Army, editor of the *Indian Antiquary and Punjab Notes and Queries* made a communication on the subject of his edition of "Indian Proverbs" collected by the late Mr. Fallon and also on the subject of a book called Hir Ranjha, by Waris Shah, the value of which lay in the fact that it was a specimen of the pure Panjabi language.

Professor Buhler presented to the Section the third volume of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," edited by Mr. Fleet, and this led to an important discussion. Captain Temple brought to the notice of the Section, that the Government of India had abolished the post of Epigraphist of India, which was deeply to be regretted, as, if the history of India was ever to be written, it must be gathered from the inscriptions ; it appeared to him most desirable that a representation should be made to the Government of India with a view of reviving the appointment. Captain Temple remarked further, that the eminent services of Mr. Fleet, the late Epigraphist, were well-known to all. A resolution was proposed by Dr. Kielhorn, seconded by Mr. Bendall and unanimously adopted by the Section, "that a strong representation be made to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India as to the importance to students of Indian history and philology, of such an office as that of the Epigraphist to the Government of India, and that it earnestly hopes for its speedy revival ; and that, if the post were revived, the excellent results obtained, and the high merits displayed by Mr. Fleet while holding the post, will not be overlooked." The importance of the office was not overstated, and any delay would be fatal. Metal tablets might be heedlessly destroyed for the sake of their metal, or sold to some travellers as a curio and lost sight of, or the locality where it was found, forgotten.

Mr. Macauliffe of the Civil Service in the Panjab presented a lithographed copy of a recently discovered Janam-

Sakhi, or life of Baba Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion. When the Government of India, at the request of the Government of the Panjab and at the suggestion of Dr Robert Cust, then Commissioner of Amritsar, commissioned the late Dr. Ernest Trumpp of Munich to translate the Granth, or Sacred Book of the Sikhs, he in the course of his researches found in the library of the India Office, an MSS. copy of the Life of Nanak, and translated it. The Sikhs when they heard of it, asked for a copy of the MSS., and their wish being complied with, other works of a similar import were discovered. One complete and correct copy was made up from the different MSS. and lithographed with English punctuation, and the separation of the prose portions from the poetical. The ordinary Janam-Sakhi in use by the Sikhs, are in no way trustworthy ; they are headed with puerilities and mythological details : the copy now lithographed is free from such blemishes, and is the safest account of the life of the simple-minded and earnest founder of the Sikh religion. At the close Mr. Macauliffe remarked upon the facility with which religious preachers in the East were deified by their followers. Sixty years after his decease Nanak was deemed to be God by his enthusiastic followers. The late Keshab Chunder is now deified, and the late Dayanand Saraswati was declared by earnest disciples to be even during his lifetime an incarnation of the Creator. Dr. Trumpp was the first who understood the Sikh religion, and traced it to its Buddhistic foundation : but his work can only be considered a preliminary : his translation is incomplete, and not accurate. Mr. Macauliffe hoped to be able himself, not to make a new translation, but to give the lives of the Sikh Gurus with translations of characteristic passages from their writings, and thus contribute a curious and not important chapter to the history of Universal religion, and of the development of the emotional element in the human mind.

In the Egypto-African Section, fifteen subjects came under discussion. Here, again, we had a measure of the vast difference betwixt the importance of a subject of great and living interest, affecting millions of living men, and the halo surrounding the dead deposits of archaeological minutiae.

The whole continent of Africa was treated as a profitless annex to Egypt : a paper by Captain Grimal de Guirandon on the languages of the Negroes and the Fulah, and some other tribes in Africa, about one hundred million in number went for nothing : it was in vain to try to raise an interest out of the beaten track of Egyptian literature. A goodly company would assemble for the latter : five persons and a boy found leisure for the rest of the world. Nothing is more striking than the narrow and unsympathetic limits, within which, individual

scholars restrict not only their labours but their interests. Life is short and art long, and an Egyptalogue would let the whole globe be consumed, while he was unrolling his mummy or deciphering his death-roll of kings and priests, who, for all that they did, need not have troubled themselves to be born.

The proceedings opened with the reading of an interesting paper by Monsieur Beauregard of Paris, entitled "Le collier de mérite pour l'aménagement des herbes fourragères." In this paper M. Beauregard stated his reasons for believing that there existed in ancient Egypt an order of merit for ladies of priestly rank attached to the worship of Apis; and that this order, or collar, was conferred for distinguished services in connexion with the cultivation of certain field produce destined for purposes of forage for the divine bull. The evidence adduced by M. Beauregard cannot, perhaps, be said to have proved his contention, but he has opened up an interesting inquiry which may lead to further discussion.

The second paper read by Dr. Augustus Eisenlohr, Professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg was headed "Ueber eine Reihe Egyptischer Papyrusrollen welche von der Beraubung von Königsgräbern handeln." The subject of ancient tomb-robberies in Egypt is in itself of extreme importance, and Professor Eisenlohr's discourse was listened to with profound attention. This eminent Egyptologist began by describing a fragment of papyrus at Vienna, containing a register of various rolls of papyri contained in two jars. These MSS. are of two kinds; legal and historical—the former being judicial documents concerning the violation and robbery of royal tombs, and the latter forming part of the annals of the reign of Ra-User-Ma-Mer-Amen. The contents of these two jars were found in 1885, and are the same which were, for the greater part purchased by Mr. A. Harris. Some of these papyri, while yet in Mr. Harris's possession, were damaged by an explosion of gunpowder in Alexandria, previous to 1872, when they passed into the possession of the British Museum. The remainder of the find was dispersed and has been traced by Dr. Eisenlohr—two of the papyri being now in the museum of the Liverpool Free Library, and some others, as the Vasali papyri and the papyri of Mrs. de Burgh, having been sold in 1856 to the British Museum. Dr. Eisenlohr spoke at some length on the contents of these various documents, which were for the most part written during the last years of the reign of Ra-nefer-Ka (Rameses IX), and during the two first years of that Pharaoh's successor, Rameses X., who appears therein with the title of Nem-Mesu, the "Renewer of Birth." Dr. Eisenlohr especially drew the attention of the audience to one of the judicial papyri before mentioned—namely, a long register

of 185 proprietors of houses in Western Thebes, beginning with the house of Ra-men-ma (Seti I), whereby is probably meant the temple of Kurnak.

Dr. G. Lieblein, professor of Egyptology at Christiania, Norway, followed with a communication upon the interpretation to be given to the word *Nehas* or *Nehes*; a term hitherto regarded as signifying negro. Dr. Lieblein, however, recognises in this word not only an ethnological, but a titular meaning, identical with that of *Negus*, the royal title of Ethiopian sovereigns.

Dr. W. Pleyte of Leyden then read a paper on ancient Egyptian art, illustrated by a large selection of photographs of objects in the Leyden Museum. Among these must be especially noted a sarcophagus in red granite, made for one Khem-Nefer, in the likeness of a wooden house of the time of the ancient empire; an alabaster stela of a functionary named Ab-en-neb; a limestone group of one Tata and his wife; a group of the famous princess Merttcles, accompanied by her secretary Khennu; four statuettes executed in the highest style of Egyptian art and of the finest period; and lastly a table of offerings of one Tuf-tsa. All these monuments are characterised by an extraordinary degree of realism grafted upon the truest conception of art, and executed with a mastery of material which enabled the sculptors to treat stone with as much freedom as if it had been clay. These portraits are strictly portraits, though idealised. The personages whom they represent neither laugh, nor weep, nor are serious. They are simply calm. It was thus that the Egyptians conceived the sacred figure called the *Ka* or double: and it was through their veneration for the *Ka* that this people arrived at such a perfection of realism in the arts of *bas relief* and statuary as is elsewhere unknown at that early period of the world's history. Theirs was a faithful and devout worship of ancestors, of which worship the tomb was the sanctuary. As it was from the tomb of this period that Egyptian architecture subsequently emerged to originate the Doric style in the grottoes of Be ni Hassan, and to pave the way for the glories of the arts of Greece.

Mr. Cape Whitchouse (U.S. A.) next occupied the platform and delivered in German an extemporary abridgment of his paper on "The Blessing of Jacob," which he read last year *in extenso* before the Society of Biblical Archaeology in London. He was followed by Captain Grimal de Guirandon, who gave an extremely interesting account of the Puls, and some other tribes of Western Africa. The Puls are a yellowish white race, of Mohammedan religion, having nothing in common with the Negro peoples of the surrounding country. That part of their religion which perpetuates the record of the books of Genesis

and Exodus is remarkable for the purity of its traditions, and Captain de Guirandon suggested that their remote ancestors might have derived these traditions from the Hebrew colonists of the time of the sojourn in Egypt.

Miss Amelia B. Edwards read a paper on "The Dispersion of Antiquities consequent upon the Recent Discovery of Certain ancient Egyptian Cemeteries in Upper Egypt." In this Miss Edwards drew attention to the increased and increasing number of Egyptian antiquities which now find their way to Europe and America, and are lost sight of in private collections: antiquities which might in all probability restore many a lost page of Egyptian history, and which are as sealed books to their present possessors. Miss Edwards adduced some startling instances of important royal papyri, canopic vases, stelae, and the like, which are at the present time lying *perdu* in English country-houses and obscure provincial museums, and urged upon the Congress the necessity of concerting some scheme of international correspondence whereby private collections might be reported upon, and a register kept of their contents. Miss Edwards concluded by giving translations of two funeral stelae of the xviiith and xixth dynasties respectively, now in the museum of Bath, and not previously deciphered.

M. Guimet next presented a paper on Egyptian Chiromancy by M. Léfebure, which to the great regret of those present was not read.

Professor Dumichen read a paper entitled "Auszüge aus seinen neuesten Schriften," illustrated with texts, of which, for want of the necessary data, we are unfortunately unable to give an abstract. The next paper, "Eine Pun-phonikische Handelscolonie in Egypten," was read by Professor Leiblein. This distinguished *savant* has succeeded in identifying the traces of an ancient Phoenician colony settled in the neighbourhood of Chemmis (Panopolis) the modern Ekhmeem. The place of their settlement was called Pa-Bennu, the land (or abode?) of the Phoenicians, where, in a later age, Pachomius founded a monastery, and his sister founded a convent.

Dr. Krall delivered a discourse, entitled "Ueber Psonthomphanech, den egyptischen Namen Josephs." He pointed out that this name is not Joseph's title, but his Egyptian name. Joseph, it will be remembered, received an Egyptian wife from Pharaoh,—namely, the daughter of the high priest, Potiphar; consequently, Joseph became a naturalised Egyptian, and hence his Egyptian name. It is well known that many foreigners in Egypt had double names, of which the Egyptian name is sometimes only the translation of the original name, whether Semitic or Greek. "We must therefore," said Dr. Krall, "first

carefully examine the laws of transcription ; and, secondly, find out whether words containing the supposed form, occur in other contemporary inscriptions. Dr Kraü then pointed out that names beginning with *tse* and ending with *efonk* which means "he who lives," and of which the middle syllable consists of the name of some god, as, for instance, Horus, are frequently found about the time of Sheshcuk and later. The middle syllable of this word would therefore contain the name of a deity ; and, if we search the Egyptian Pantheon, we find only Month, the god of war, whose name would accord with the middle syllable of Joseph's Egyptian name. We must, therefore, conclude that in Hebrew the *p* and *m* were interchanged in the pronunciation of Joseph's long Egyptian name, especially as these two sounds are related to each other. The name ought therefore to be transcribed (following the laws of transcription which have been observed in the Demotic—Greek papyri) *Ti-menth ef onych os*, which means, "Ti (perhaps the servant of) Month, who lives." He pointed out the fact that as among Semitic peoples the sacred age is 120 years, so among the Egyptians the sacred age was 110 years ; the pious Egyptian always prays to Osiris that he might live to the age of 110 ; and it is to be noted that Joseph, the naturalised Egyptian, is recorded in the Bible as having died at the age of 110 years.

All the papers entered for this Section having now been read, M. Naville gave a most interesting and instructive *viva voce* account of the origin, progress and completion of his critical edition of the *Todtenbuch* or 'Book of the Dead,' from the moment when that great task was confided to him by the members of the Oriental Congress of 1874, down to the issue of the concluding (introductory) volume, of which the first copy was laid upon the table. M. Naville described the method upon which he had worked, the difficulties he had to overcome, and the reason why he limited his field of research to papyri not later than the period of the sixteenth Dynasty. No one life, he said, would be long enough to complete such a work, if extended to documents of more recent date. Among other novel and interesting conclusions derived from his long and intimate study of this most ancient religious book, M. Naville has arrived at the fact that the trials and terrors of the under-world, as described in the "Book of the Dead," were not supposed to await all souls in their passage from life to eternity. Some souls might encounter certain perils, other souls might encounter other perils, and some might altogether escape the snares of Hades. The "Book of the Dead" is, therefore, a book of texts placed, so to say, in the hands of every dead Egyptian for his protection and guidance in case of need ; but it is strictly provisional. All these

prayers and texts are also understood to be spoken by the deceased himself, in case he finds himself beset by those especial perils. The book is, therefore, in no sense a "Ritual."

Dr. Pleyte moved another resolution, to the effect that the Egypto-African Section should, through the proper channels, prefer a request to the Archduke Rainer, that he would be pleased to specially forward the publication of that portion of his great collection of papyri which is written in the so-called Meroitic tongue (Ethiopian-demotic) in order that by the time the eighth Oriental Congress shall meet, those documents may be placed at the disposal of scholars. This Meroitic script is as yet undeciphered and untranslated; and it is of the first importance for science that these documents be reproduced, either in autotype or lithography, in order that their contents may be interpreted. This resolution was carried unanimously; and Dr. Krall of Vienna (who with Dr. Karabacek, Dr. Wessely and other eminent *savants*,) is engaged upon the arrangement, cataloguing and deciphering of the Archduke Rainers' papyri, assured the members of this Section that their request would receive the hearty support of his colleagues, and should be laid in due course before His Imperial Highness.

At the instance of M. Naville, M. Beauregard and M. Guimet, a resolution was next proposed having for its object the furtherance of the views advocated by Miss Amelia B. Edwards in her paper read at the first sitting of this Section. M. Naville was of opinion that the object which Miss Edwards had in view, (namely, the identification and registration of historical antiquities in private collections and provincial museums in Europe and America) would be best attained by the wide dissemination of Miss Edwards' paper. M. Beauregard then remarked that if that paper appeared only in the *Transactions* of the Congress, it would necessarily be read by only a limited number of persons; whereupon M. Guimet, with characteristic generosity and courtesy, proposed to publish a French translation of the same in his *Annales*, and to print a considerable number of copies in a pamphlet form, for the purpose of circulating the paper as widely as possible. Miss Edwards accepted the proposal with gratitude, and undertook to translate her paper into French. M. Guimet urged each member of the Section to aid in distributing the paper; and the resolution was unanimously voted.

Mr. Cape Whitehouse read a paper on the topography of the Pyramids—one paper was presented, but not read, and will appear in the Proceedings.

In the Central Asiatic and extreme Orient Section there was very little business. Seven papers were sent in, but three of these were not read, and will appear in the Proceedings. M. Feer of the National Library of Paris, read a paper on the origin

of the name of Tibet, and the proper mode of spelling it. The paper was, perhaps, rather longer than the merits of the subject justified, but in the discussion which ensued, Tscheng-ki-Toung, secretary of the Chinese Legation at Paris, stepped forward to explain by what name, and in what form of the written character, Tibet was known in China. He was in his ordinary Chinese dress, but he spoke in French like an accomplished Parisian, handled the chalk pencil on the blackboard like a professor, and gave another wonderful instance of the improvable capacity of the great Asiatic races of India, China and Japan under European training. Such men hold their own in this generation, but a quarter of a century hence, by their innate superiority and consciousness of strength, they will far surpass the ordinary European. If the best of studies is the study of man, living man, perhaps the spectacle of the young Hindu and young Chinese, in the dress of their countries, and the black and yellow colours of their respective races, calmly and without trepidation fighting the Europeans with their own weapons was better than an old manuscript of a forgotten religion and an old mummy of an extinct race.

The same remark applies to the Arab School Inspectors and other officials from Egypt, who took part in the Congress. The European may please to look down upon the Asiatic and African, but they return the compliment with interest. It was a sight to see the fierce contempt with which the pigtailed Chinese looked down on the assembled scholars of Europe, who dared to dabble with his Ideographs. The Hindu read his paper with an impassive air, without the least sign of that self-consciousness which distresses a European.

Professor Kamori of Pressburg (Hungary) read a paper on the fundamental principles of the comparison of the languages of the Aryan, Semitic, and Altaic families. The very idea of such a subject takes away the breath; to work it out would occupy a volume: it was wholly unsuited for the short time allowed to each speaker at a Congress.

Professor Terrien de Lacouperie presented to the Congress his pamphlets on the Cradle of the Shan Race, on the Old Numerals of China, and on the Beginnings of Migration in Tibet, and he exhibited—

Three Iolo MSS. of an alphabetic writing used in S. W. China.

Some specimens of the writing of the Pa-y in the same region.

Three MSS. from Formosa dated in the last century, of which the writing and the language are now forgotten.

And he explained his decipherment of the Easter Island Inscriptions, written with a character derived from Southern India.

He exhibited also the first 40 sheets of his large work on the Chinese Coins of the British Museum. He then read a paper "On the language of China before the Chinese," where he showed that, previous to the gradual occupation of the country by the Chinese, who originally had come from the North-West, China was inhabited by several races, one, of Negritos among others. Their languages, represented by some thirty vocabularies extracted chiefly from Chinese sources of various dates, and by some ten more still spoken by broken tribes, belonged to the Mon-Annam, Shan-Siamese, Karen, and Tibeto-Burmen groups, and some of them are hybrids. The chief works, besides the historical annals, from which ancient information has been derived, are the *Erh-ya*, a dictionary of the 5th century B. C., and the *Fang-yen*, a comparative vocabulary of dialects of the first century B. C.

Professor G. von der Gabelentz, Tscheng Ki-Toung, and Professor Cordier expressed their acquiescence in the views of the author.

The Section of Malaisia and Polynesia was still less scantily supplied with papers; and of the communications forwarded to the Congress only one was read: one upon the languages of New Guinea by Prince Roland Bonaparte, and another on certain vocabularies of East Africa, Madagascar, and Malaisia will appear in the Proceedings: nothing further is known of them.

Dr. R. Cust, honorary secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, read a paper in the German language on our present knowledge of the languages of "Oceania." The four sub-divisions of this great region are Polynesia, Melanesia, Australia, and Mikronesia. Wonderful progress had been made during the last quarter of a century; translations of the Bible have been printed in upwards of 30 languages, Grammars and Dictionaries published, and schools opened, both primary and normal, for the training of teachers in the native languages. All this has been the work of the missionaries of England and the United States. Dr. Friedrich Müller and Professor von der Gabelentz, who have themselves largely contributed to the work of classification of these languages, and the arrangement of the rough material sent home, took a part in the discussion.

I have completed the narrative of the serious work of the Congress, but serious work was intermixed with hospitable entertainments. On the evening of the first day the members of the Congress were received by the Minister of Public Instruction, and on the second day by the Archduke and Archduchess Rainer in their private residence. These kind and courteous people had a word for every member of the Congress who wished to step up and make his bow, and they spoke all the four languages with fluency. On the third day there was an

afternoon reception in the new and magnificent town-hall both of ladies and gentlemen by the Burgomaster of Vienna, accompanied with music and speeches; on the fourth day there was a grand dinner at which all the members of the Congress without exception were entertained in the grand hall of the Chief Hotel, and a magnificent banquet it was. Speeches and glorifications and compliments followed in three of the languages of the Congress. The Germans were fearfully diffuse; the Frenchmen, as usual, neat and pointed. Two at least made a sensation, and I give them.

It must be remembered that the apprehension of war occupied the thoughts of all. General Kaulbars was hectoring in Bulgaria. Neither the Austrian nor the English Government had spoken out on the Bulgarian question, though they did so very soon after. Mutterings were heard in Hungary, and the Magyars were determined not to give way to Russia in the Balkan Provinces without a struggle. Dr. Robert Cust proposed the health of the City of Vienna in the following laconic speech, which brought down shouts of applause; all the Hungarians and liberal Austrians came across to tap glasses with the speaker, and the censor of the Austrian Press forbade it being published in the Vienna papers, though it appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* :—

"Mr. President, and Members of the Congress: I beg to propose the toast—"The prosperity of the renowned City of Vienna, famous in history from the time of the Crusades, "famous for its universities and hospitals: famous for its learned men and beautiful women. We do not in the West, "of Europe forget that three hundred years ago Vienna was the bulwark of Christendom and civilisation against the Turks, "and we doubt not in this and the generations that are to come, "it will again be the bulwark against a more powerful and dangerous foe, and the hearts of Englishmen will be with "their ancient ally."

When the Burgomaster had replied, the president remarked to the proposer of the toast, that his words were few, but they meant a good deal. It so happened that that very night the Austrian Ministers made a communication, in the very same sense, to the Hungarian delegates. It seemed as if there was an electrical current of stern defiance at the Russian encroachments of Bulgaria, which were emphasized a few days later by Lord Salisbury, the English Prime Minister.

The next speech was interesting in another direction. Tcheng-ki Toung, the young Chinese, spoke, or rather read from manuscript, with a loud and clear voice, the following words in French :—"Gentlemen: it is the first time that the Chinese Government has taken a direct part in a Congress of

"Orientalists, and I am happy to be the first Chinese delegate. "Allow me to say that my object in publishing the works, "with which you are well acquainted, were the same as those "of this Congress: The necessity of creating international "relations appears to be the characteristic of the present "epoch. Every nation is visiting its neighbour, and they are "studying each other's character, at first from curiosity, and "then from self-interest, and they communicate to each other "their reciprocal impressions, their astonishment, and their "admiration. If up to this time the first interviews have not "produced all the results contemplated by advanced spirits, "we still may hope that some progress has been made. My "presence in your midst to-day is a proof of what I have "asserted. 'To know yourself' was a maxim of ancient "philosophy: The wisdom of all nations consists in putting this "maxim into practice, however difficult it may be. I am in "doubt, whether this art of knowing oneself has made much "progress since the time of Confucius and Socrates, or even "whether there are any who know it at all. In the midst of "the excitement of modern life, it is impossible to study oneself "with the perseverance recommended by these ancient sages. "It is much more profitable, and much more necessary to try "and discover the real character of one's nearest neighbour. "And in these days who is not our near neighbour? I suppose "that all nations are now agreed upon this new interpretation "of an ancient maxim, since they interchange not only objects "of commerce, but also ideas—that is to say, each communi- "cates to his neighbour the elementary and fundamental truths "of its own special civilisation. The word "universal" has "never had such an ambitious meaning as it has now, when it "is attempted to compel the universe to speak one language, "which all can comprehend.

"If this miracle come to pass, we shall hear people say that "the history of the Tower of Babel had no further meaning. "I am speaking seriously. I know too well, from long ex- "perience, that men must understand each other before they "can make acquaintance. Many of the most grievous wars "have been caused by a quarrel about words rather than about "facts. The secret of peace perhaps exists in this idea, that "men must understand each other before they know each other, "and this is precisely the object of such Congresses as this. "I therefore wish the greatest success to the Congress. I call "upon you to bring light and peace into the world, where we "are all groping about like Diogenes. I drink the health of "all the members of the Congress." Such speeches mark a "new epoch."

On one day of the Congress a special meeting was held of

the German Oriental Society, and on the last day there was a solemn farewell meeting of the whole Congress in the hall of the University. The Archduke Rainer presided—congratulatory speeches were interchanged, and the Congress was declared to be closed, and the members went their way to every point of the compass.

It was announced that the next Congress would be held in 1890 at Stockholm. The deferred date rendered it very unlikely, that a large number of the elderly members of the Congress would be present. One, perhaps the only painful feature of these triennial meetings has been the thought that some sound scholar, dear friend, or even redoubtable antagonist in the world of Science, has, in the interim, passed away. Stockholm has no pretence to the honour: it is a small and picturesque town, but not the seat of a University, and the names of Upsala and Lund, the two Swedish Universities do not stand high. If Norway be included, the University of Christiania cannot be rated any higher. The United Kingdom would hardly supply six names known beyond the borders. The distance to be traversed by the residents of Southern Europe is tremendous, and scholars are generally not in easy circumstances, or men of leisure. Setting aside as impossible such capitals as Constantinople, Athens, Madrid and Lisbon, both Berne or Geneva in Switzerland, or Copenhagen in Denmark, were preferable. Sooner or later the round of the great capitals must be commenced again.

As one, who has attended six of these Congresses, I can testify to their great charm, their great utility in advancing the whole line of research, and in removing prejudices, as well as cementing friendships. May I live to be present at the next.

LONDON.

ROBERT CUST.

A RUSKINIAN ADDRESS.

"Satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum."

Sallust. Cat. V.

I

I'm not given much to talking, but I really find it shocking
That ideas of a sort should get abroad :
What's this fuss about book-reading that's just now the world misleading
And fast drawing us away from Nature's God?

II

All your talk of protoplasm gives me quite a moral spasm ;
I've no patience with the science of the day :
The queer stories of the mammoth down our vexed souls it crammeth
Much remind me of a certain creature's bray !

III

Faith, no better than a skunk he who saith man is but a monkey :
And if our fathers had their tails, what of that ?
If we've rubbed away our tail ends, shall it be in some Greek Calends
We'll have rubbed away our vices just as flat ?

IV

I know people style my ethics quite a sort of girl-hysterics,—
But I let them scream their little wits away :
As for Huxley and for Lubbock, why, they'd gaily clap a Chubb-lock
On the gushing stuff I'm teaching every day.

V

Then your social economics, and your dry-as-dust school logics.—
Mill's and Spencer's days are over : R. I. P.
With an easy, breezy chatter, see, their heresies I scatter :
So, for the gospel of the day, come to me.

VI

But for all your airy laughing, and for all your plaguy chaffing,
There is one thing I should like to let you know :
There's a world of love and glory, quite beyond your upper story,—
A great message from Above to us below !

VII

There's a poem in each rose leaf, in each golden tinted wheat-sheaf,
In the softly-changing wonders of the skies :
There are elves about the green woods, there are mermaids in the deep floods,
There are Ariels in the air to serve the wise !

VIII

When the happy leaves are Prattling, and their little brains are rattling
With sweet thoughts that are born of spring's loving need,
I can hear their whispered wooing,—I can hear their tender cooing,—
While your dull ears, idly flapping, never heed.

IX

I can live upon a moonbeam, or, in everlasting sweet dream,
Lie a-gazing at the fine ethereal blue :
Sure, that's useful occupation for a man of aberration—
To the devil with your scientific crew !

R. SPENCER.

THE QUARTER.

THE events of the quarter have been—the sudden and startling development of the Franco-Russian difficulty owing to the military preparations of France ; the resignation of the French Ministry ; the continued state of tension between Austria and Russia ; the resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill ; the death of Lord Iddesleigh ; the operations in Burmah ; the death of General Macgregor ; the proceedings of the Public Service Commission, and the celebration, throughout India, of the Jubilee Anniversary of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

The quarter brought us suddenly almost face to face with the inevitable war of ~~re~~anche between Germany and France. Prince Bismarck with characteristic boldness, turned his bull's-eye lantern on France in the midst of her stealthy preparations for a renewal of the war. But the difficulty is not ended as yet ; it is only postponed for the time being. Still we may say and feel with William Pitt, if war is to come sooner or later, it is better later than sooner, and every day of respite granted to us from such a calamity is a gain to humanity and civilization. According to Sir Charles Dilke the victory of the Pussians over the Austrians, inaugurated the era in connexion with European politics of "naked force." That era was continued though all the circumstances and events of the Franco-Pussian struggle, and it will probably culminate when that struggle is renewed. In the meantime there is growing up all over the world, a reaction—a moral reaction—against the spirit which made that era possible in the Nineteenth century. This reaction—according to keen observers—has been very strongly marked among certain classes both in Germany and France, and England may be regarded as the centre and head-quarters of that re-action in our time. Under these circumstances, as we have said, every day of peace is a gain in the interests of a great cause. And if the bold utterances and daring policy of Prince Bismarck lead the French people to think twice before they renew the conflict with Germany, the silent but powerful forces we have indicated, will have all the more time to gather strength, and, perhaps, the conflict, which is regarded as inevitable, may never take place at all, or it may be ended by the intervention of other powers—

on a settlement more or less permanently satisfactory to both nations. The French Ministry resigned during the quarter under review, and the new Ministry is said to be almost dependent on General Boulanger. This was the startling position of affairs which excited the distrust and suspicion of Prince Bismarck. General Boulanger is credited with the ambition of wishing to signalise his control and administration of the French army by leading it to the re-conquest of Alsace and Lorraine. For this reason he is of course very popular with a large section of the French people. An ambitious General has always been the God of French military idolatry—but General Boulanger is certainly not a fool, and those who know him best, declare that nothing could be further from his thoughts than any wish to attack Germany. He knows as well (so his friends say) as any man in France, that the most France could hope for would be to hold her own, and that she can do without going to war, as Germany is most certainly not desirous of attacking France except, of course, as a defensive and precautionary measure against being attacked herself. Let us hope that this is so, and if it is so, the inevitable struggle may not be so inevitable after all. It is a fixed idea with too many politicians that this struggle must take place, and fixed ideas on such a subject are to be deprecated. They too often bring about their own realization. In the meantime the state of tension between Austria and Russia has undergone very considerable modification, and the clouds in that quarter are not nearly so black and threatening as they were. Austria was inclined to take up the Bulgarian question very hotly, and in a spirit generally adverse to Russia's claim, but she has receded from that position, and she has shown her wisdom in doing so. Even English diplomacy has executed a change of front as regards Bulgaria. Lord Salisbury now speaks plainly and sensibly of the "legitimate claims" of Russia" in connexion with Bulgaria, and from the first we have insisted on the fact that these legitimate claims must be recognised. It is probable that Prince Bismarck gave Austria a strong hint to this effect, and conveyed to her that in any quarrel between Austria and Russia arising out of the Bulgarian dispute, Germany would take no part on either side. This was quite sufficient. Austria unaided is certainly no match for Russia. She is only just beginning to realize the fact herself, for Count Kalnosky has been holding very pacific language lately—another significant and satisfactory sign of the times.

During the quarter under review, Lord Randolph Churchill suddenly resigned his appointment as Chancellor of the

Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons in the Conservative Ministry. He has since explained in the House the reason which induced him take this serious and wholly unexpected step. He could not, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, accept the estimates of the Cabinet : he thought these estimates excessive. They added a large sum for naval and military purposes to the Budget, and he could not agree with his colleagues as regards the necessity of making these additions to our expenditure. Things certainly looked black on the continent, but they did not look black for England. The indications of coming trouble pointed in almost every direction, but they did not point to England. What, then, was the obvious duty of an English statesman under these circumstances? He should return to the paths of economy and retrenchment, and to the normal expenditure of normal times. "The possession of a sharp sword was a great temptation to test the efficiency of the weapon." All this sounds very plausible, but there is a flaw in Lord Randolph's logic which ought not to have escaped the observation of Mr. Smith. Germany has just now a very sharp sword indeed : so has France—so has Russia. Just now their swords are pointed towards each other, and if they remain only pointed, it is because they are all equally sharp—and the result of a collision is a very doubtful matter indeed. At any moment the sharp sword of France or Russia,—there is such a temptation to test the "efficiency of a sharp weapon"—may be turned on the blunt sword which Lord Randolph advises us to retain, and turned on us with very disastrous effect indeed.

Lord Iddesleigh died during the quarter under review. The manner of his death was awfully sudden, and the circumstances of the last hours of his life, painful and melancholy in the extreme. He had been hustled, at the dictation or instigation of Lord Randolph Churchill, from appointment to appointment—and he had gone to Lord Salisbury to deliver up the seals of the Foreign Office, when he was seized with his last illness and expired in the ante-room of the Prime Minister's office in about twenty minutes. His death was universally regretted ; a feeling of keen remorse and humiliation was added to the universal sorrow, for it was felt that he had not been well treated, and that all that he was, as a faithful servant of the public, one of the purest, noblest characters which English public life ever produced—was realized too late.

The military rat-hunting in Burmah has been continued during the quarter under review under the personal direction

of the Commander-in-Chief, and has been prosecuted with a vigour and efficiency which have led to decisive and satisfactory results. The dacoits have sustained a series of disheartening defeats, and all fight appears to have been taken out of them, as they are surrendering in large numbers, and many of their principal leaders have either surrendered or fled across the frontier.

General Macgregor is dead. Macgregor was the Skoboleff of the British Army, and he was one of the very few English Generals living who was, like Valentine Baker, held in great respect on the Continent. He held very strong opinions on the subject of the reality of the Russian menace to India (not altogether shared by military officers as competent and experienced as himself) and he held equally strong opinions on the subject of our inability to meet a Russia attack in our present position. Whether he was right or wrong in these views, there can be no question of the fact that he was a most accomplished soldier, especially versed in all the requirements of frontier warfare, and that his death is a serious loss—perhaps the most serious loss of the kind which it could sustain—to the English Army in India at the present time.

The Public Service Commission is still dragging its slow length along, and as the length increases, the progress is becoming slower, and it seems not impossible that the huge official python will come to a dead stop before long—crushed by its own weight. The evidence given before the Commission has produced a sensation of general public bewilderment and not a little public disgust: yet some important progress has been made in one direction. The system of statutory appointments to the Civil Service has been riddled through like a sieve, by the almost unanimously hostile evidence of all the more important witnesses, both European and Native. It was a sham concession to Native claims which never satisfied the Natives in the least degree, and it certainly has not commended itself to the English officials who have enjoyed the best opportunities for observing the working and results of the system.

The Jubilee Anniversary of Her Majesty's reign was celebrated throughout India on the 16th and 17th of February, with "tumult and acclaim," amidst universal rejoicings, and with every circumstance of splendour, festivity and display. The purely ceremonial part of the celebration, the reviews, addresses from public bodies, fireworks, illuminations, &c., could

of course have been equalled and surpassed in many other countries, but there was beyond all question a genuineness and spontaneity in the outburst of loyal feeling and affection which the Jubilee evoked in India—which it would have been very difficult either to equal or surpass among the subjects of any other Sovereign or in any other country in the civilized world.

On the 17th March last Sir Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was entertained at a farewell dinner by his admirers and friends, to the number of about 250, prior to his departure for England and resignation of the service. In Sir River Thompson, India has lost a man who upheld for 35 years of arduous, unsparring, honorable official toil—the very noblest qualities of English statesmanship, in the greatest dependency of the British Crown. He was not, of course, a perfect administrator—who ever was? He made some mistakes and miscalculations. He offended some interests, and he clung with invincible tenacity to any opinion which he had once formed, but he always tried with all his soul "to love the light and do the right." "Be just and fear not" that was his motto. He was just—scrupulously just—and therefore he need not fear. His errors—such as they were—will be forgiven and forgotten, but his great services—his unselfish character—and the lofty example of his noble life, both official and personal, will live for ever.

.. .GEO. A. STACK.

The 26th March 1887.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Bengal Education, 1885-86.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS:—

The following table compares for two years the figures of all schools that submit returns to the Department:—

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.	YEAR 1884-85.		Year 1885-86.		Average number of pupils, 1885- 86.	
	Schools	Pupils.	Schools.	Pupils.		
<i>Public Institutions.</i>						
University Colleges 25	2,779	26	2,998	115		
	High English Schools .. 249	53,272	264	57,623	218	
Secondary Middle 709	49,186	732	52,003	71		
	„ Vernacular „ .. 1,140	60,011	1,141	63,944	56	
Primary Upper Primary .. 2,722	100,738	3 187	113,526	37		
	Lower „ .. 62,363	1,121,900	47,623	986,160	21	
Special „ 67	4,843	90	5,733	64		
Female „ 2,354	44,112	2,336	46,293	20		
Total Public Institutions ..		70,129	1,442,847	55,299	1,328 a.c.	
<i>Private Institutions.</i>						
Advanced : teaching—						
Arabic or Persian 940	10,485	1,302	18,766	14		
Sanskrit 1,088	9,841	577	5,446	9		
Elementary : teaching a vernacular only or mainly ..						
Other schools not conforming to departmental standards 372	5,265	234	3,689	16		
	122	1,748	121	1,848	15	
Total Private Institutions ..		2,512	27,339	2,934	29,749	
GRAND TOTAL ..		72,641	1,470,180	57,533	1,358,029	

The most noteworthy fact in the educational history of the year is the disappearance from the returns of the department, and the removal from departmental control, of 15,108 schools and 112,151 pupils. The decrease is under the heading of lower primary schools. In so far as the decrease is not nominal, it is due to the exclusion, under recent orders, of new and untried schools from the returns; also of schools with less than 10 pupils. In all classes of schools other than lower primary, satisfactory progress has been made, especially in English schools, both high and middle, and in the upper section of primary schools. The increase of 23 shown under schools of special instruction is really reducible to 5, 18 Mahomedan *madrassas* of a special character having been erroneously included under this head. Among private institutions not conforming to departmental standards, there is a large increase in those teaching Arabic and Persian, but a still larger falling off in those that teach Sanskrit. The loss has been confined to the Patna Division, where more than 500 *tuls*, with less than ten pupils apiece, have been excluded from the returns—unnecessarily, as the Director points out, since that restriction was intended to apply only to public primary schools seeking aid from the grant for primary education.

*Public Instruction, Bombay, 1885-86.***PRINCIPAL STATISTICS:—**

There is an advance along the whole line of educational activity, in which even the depressed classes have joined. At the end of the year there were 460,987 children in the schools connected with the Department, the largest number ever previously recorded being 438,416. Except in the School of Art and High Schools for Girls the increase of 22,571 is distributed over every class of institution, primary schools claiming 18,824 of the whole increase. Drawing classes have added the large figure of 520 to their number, and technical schools have gained an addition of 231. The College attendance increased by 138, and that of the High Schools by 1,823. Arranged according to classes of agency the municipal schools have gained more than the local board schools have lost, while a very satisfactory feature is the addition of 8,068 pupils to schools aided by the Department. These figures are irrespective of 70,140 children in the outer circle of schools not aided by the Department, in regard to which the Acting Director advocated efforts being made to bring them into connection with the Department, while at the same time he remarked in paragraph 67 of the report for last year, that the Bombay Department was wise in not desiring to make a show of figures, or claim as connected with it any results for the character of which it could not vouch. Mr. Chatfield advocates extreme caution in transferring these schools to the list of recognized institutions, and in paragraph 75 he quotes the opinions of the Inspectors upon them. Government approve of the policy pursued by Mr. Kirkham, who remarks that "every effort is made to keep up some degree of contact with the unrecognised schools." In the Northern Division Mr. Giles reports that his help is not desired by the masters, but Government hope that with perseverance this difficulty will be overcome. As the existence of these schools is recognized by the Director in forming his calculations of school provision, it is certainly desirable that they should be drawn within the circle of State aid and inspection, as opportunity and funds are found. Mr. Chatfield shows that, including the outer circle, there were 10,456 schools with 531,127 children under instruction in the whole Presidency. On these data he observes that the average number of square miles to each village with a school is 24, and that the average for the whole Presidency comes to 1 school for every group of 5 villages, and to a distance of 5 miles from one school to another. On the whole population the percentage under instruction is 2.29. It will be shown in subsequent paragraphs that female education, instruction to Mahomedans and to various depressed classes, as well as night schools have shared in the general improvement which the foregoing remarks indicate.

*Emigration from the Port of Calcutta, 1885.***PRINCIPAL STATISTICS:—**

The year was marked by a striking falling off in the demand for Indian labourers. Of ten colonies which sent requisitions in 1884-85; ~~none~~ ceased to do so altogether during the year under report, namely, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Grenada, Natal, Mauritius, Surinam, and Guadeloupe; while of the three remaining, Demarara, Trinidad, and Fiji, the two former indented for a smaller number. On the whole, requisitions were received for 6,430 coolies against 18,639 in 1884-85, and an average of 14,734 in the four preceding years. The falling off is not explained in the Protector's report, but is understood to be due to the declining state of the sugar industry, in

which the emigrants are mainly employed. In Jamaica it appears that the abandonment of the system is connected, also, with the introduction of representative legislation in the island, the importation under Government auspices of foreign workmen being distasteful to a large part of the population, as reducing the prospect of the employment of the local labourers on remunerative terms. The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to observe that in spite of the decline elsewhere there has been an increased demand for Indian labour in Fiji, for the proximity of these islands to Australia and New Zealand give them a special value as future fields for emigration. The great colonies beyond the Indian Ocean are somewhat nearer to this country than are the other settlements to which coolies are taken; ordinary wages in that region are very high, and there is an amount of reclaimable land which suggests the possibility of emigration at some future time or a scale large enough to give appreciable relief to the over-populated districts of Bengal.

Land Revenue, Punjab, 1885-86.

PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

The land revenue collections are believed to be the highest yet known, and amounted to 219 lakhs, or an increase of 7 lakhs over the figures of the preceding year. This large increase is chiefly due to the realization of outstanding balances of previous years, to the introduction of new assessments in the Hoshiárpur, Jultundur and Ráwalpindi Districts, and to a larger area paying water-advantage rate. The increases under these two last heads have been Rs. 1,56,083 and Rs. 65,199 respectively. The balances under the head of fixed land revenue, which stood at the very high figure of Rs. 9,88,599 at the commencement of the year, were reduced to Rs. 6,84,993, or by Rs. 3,03,606. Of the total balance at the end of 1884-85, Rs. 4,63,684 were realized, Rs. 85,637 were remitted, and Rs. 4,39,278 have been carried on into the current year. Thus of the balance outstanding at the close of the year under review, Rs. 2,45,715 belonged to 1885-86 and the rest to previous years; and of the total, Rs. 5,40,000 are in process of recovery, and the remainder is described as doubtful, nominal or irrecoverable. The districts with the heaviest outstanding balances were—

	Rs.
Gurgaon	... 2,97,229
Rohtak	... 77,663
Montgomery	... 50,894

The greater part of the Gurgaon balance is said to have been recommended for remission, though this appears to be scarcely consistent with the statement above as to the amount in process of recovery; and, as remarked by the Financial Commissioner, the decrease in that of Rohtak (from Rs. 3,60,689 to its present figure) is most gratifying, the collections in this district on account of previous years having amounted to nearly 2½ lakhs of rupees. There is every reason to hope that the districts of the Delhi Division are now in a fair way to recover from the disorganization which resulted from a succession of bad harvests. Calamity of season has led to considerable suspensions in the Montgomery District. On the whole, the Lieutenant-Governor is glad to observe that while the policy of liberal remissions and suspensions appears to have been fully maintained in cases of real distress, the efforts to realise the just demands of the State have been so successful.

*Customs Department, Bengal Presidency, 1885-86.***PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—**

The subjoined statement shows the gross and net Customs duty collected in Bengal during the past five years :—

	1881-82.	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.
Import duty (excluding duty on salt)	Rs. 61,72,991	Rs. 14,87,018	Rs. 15,13,590	Rs. 13,25,339	Rs. 13,99,392
Import duty on salt	2,37,15,928	1,74,72,613	1,73,13,587	1,91,86,114	1,80,35,154
Export duty	20,46,899	21,28,492	19,92,100	16,24,288	18,10,621
Total gross duty	3,19,35,818	2,10,88,123	2,08,19,277	2,21,35,741	2,12,45,167
Refunds and drawbacks—					
Imports ..	3,04,426	3,20,636	2,10,991	2,43,338	2,29,064
Exports ..	1,05,549	1,16,840	1,20,921	84,539	62,202
Total	4,09,975	4,37,476	3,31,912	3,27,877	2,91,266
Total net duty ..	3,15,25,843	2,06,50,647	2,04,87,365	2,18,07,864	2,09,53,901

In the year 1884-85 there was an increase of Rs. 13,20,499, or 6·4 per cent., in the net receipts as compared with the year 1883-84, owing entirely to larger clearances of salt; but in the year under review a decrease of Rs. 8,53,963, or 3·9 per cent. is observed in consequence of the decline of 11½ lakhs of rupees in the duty from salt. Import duty, exclusive of salt, shows an improvement of Rs. 62,316, or 4·8 per cent. due to the larger collections on imported ale, beer, porter, and spirits. The rise in the export duty of Rs. 2,08,670, or 13·5 per cent., is attributable to the recovery of the rice trade from the depression noticed in the last year's Resolution. The net receipts of all the ports taken together show a decrease of Rs. 8,79,383, or 4·1 per cent., to which Calcutta has contributed more than half, and Chittagong and Pooree in smaller proportions. The ports of Balasore, Cuttack, and Naraingunge show, on the other hand, an improvement in the net revenue.

*External Trade of Bengal, 1885-86.***PRINCIPAL STATISTICS :—**

The total weight of the external trade of Bengal with other provinces during the past two years, was as follows :—

	1884-85.	1885-86.
	Mds.	Mds.
Imports into Bengal	1,04,46,249	1,50,58,459
Exports from 'do.	1,05,07,718	1,31,90,238

2. The percentage of the total traffic between each internal block and each external trade block is shown in the following statements :—

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Imports into Bengal.

		Into Behar.		Into Western Bengal.		Into Calcutta.		Into Eastern and Northern Bengal.		Total.	
		1884-85.	1885-86.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1884-85.	1885-86.
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
From Punjab	...	957	7'00	53	86	89'71	91'90	'19	'24	100	100
N. W. Provinces and Oudh	2214	1776	2'81	2'80	75'03	79'18	'02	'26	100	100	100
" Rajputana and Central India	...	3191	2095	27'2	47'67	65'37	31'33	.....	'05	100	100
" Central Provinces	...	2378	1905	19'35	20'02	56'87	60'88	.....	'05	100	100
" Other places	...	7514	5371	73	1'27	16'46	42'87	3'67	'215	100	100
Total percentage borne to the total trade	...	2183	1730	3'37	3'57	74'77	78'87	'63	'26	100	100

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Exports from Bengal.

It will be seen that the imports increased by 46,12,210 maunds, or 44·75 per cent., and the exports by 26,82,520 maunds, or 25·53 per cent. In the Calcutta block, the imports showed an enormous rise of 52·33 per cent., and the exports of 21·81 per cent. The import trade of the Behar block advanced by 14·73 per cent., and the export trade by 26·09 per cent., while in the Western Bengal block the figures showed an increase of 53·06 per cent. under imports and of 41·77 per cent. under exports.

Forest Administration, Punjab, 1885-86.

PRINCIPAL STASISTICS :—

The following is an abstract of the progress made during the year under review in the constitution of Reserved and Protected Forests :—

Class of Forests.	At the commencement of the year.		Added.	Excluded.	At the close of the year.	Percentage of Forests to whole area of Province (106,777 square miles).
	Sq. Ms.	Sq. Ms.				
Reserved Forests	1,015	67	14	1,068	1
Protected	311	28	18	321	0·3
District	2,908	558	757	2,709	3
Total	4,234	653	789	4,098	4
Area of Reserved Forests formed under Leases	376	1	28	349	0·3
GRAND TOTAL ...	4,610	654	817		4,447	4

Excluding the area of Reserved Forests formed under the leases entered into with the Rajahs of Chamba and Bashahr, the area of Reserved Forests amounted to 1,068 square miles at the end of the year. This shows that a fair increase has taken place in the area of Reserves within British territory of 53 square miles during the period under review, and it is observed that the reservation of more extensive areas in the Rawalpindi and Kulu Districts may be expected to take place during the current year. This is satisfactory; but, nevertheless, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council desires that Sir Charles Aitchison's attention may be drawn to the fact that the area of Reserved Forests in the Punjab comprises only 1 per cent. of the area of the Province, against 7·24 per cent. in the rest of the Bengal Presidency. At the same time it is observed that some 20,000 square miles of forests and waste lands exist in the Punjab, which would seem to fall under the description of land which may be constituted Reserved Forest in Section 3 of the Indian Forest Act, and thus, apparently, to render possible a considerable addition to the reserved tracts.

